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ABSTRACT

This compilation of articles deals with practical questions of bilingualism that appear to be important to the development of education in Britain. The conference for which the papers were originally prepared concentrated on three general aspects: the existence of many thousands of bilingual children in Britain whose native languages are largely ignored educationally; the examples of planned or structured bilingual education offered in Wales; and the relationship between the techniques of foreign language teaching and the notion and reality of bilingualism. The articles include: (1) "Bilingualism and British Education," by G.E. Perren; (2) "Distribution of Linguistic Minorities in Britain," by Kiran Campbell-Platt; (3) "Provision by Minorities for Language Maintenance," by Verity Khan; (4) "Bilingualism in the Schools of Wales," by Derrick Sharp; (5) "Bilingual Education in Wales," by Eric Evans; (6) "Bilingual Education in Wales: Secondary School Organisation," by Gerald R. Morgan; (7) "Bilingualism in Bradford," by Eunice B. Beaumont; (8) "Bilingualism in Birmingham," by R.D. Chapman; (9) "Foreign Language Teaching and Bilingualism," by C.J. Dodson; and (10) "Some Conclusions: Reports by Working Parties." Appended are a list of current research in Britain on bilingualism, multilingualism, and bilingual education; a selected bibliography; a list of conference participants; and a list of other publications by CILT. (MCR)

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Bilingualism and British education: the dimensions of diversity

Papers from a conference convened in January, 1976

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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May 1976
Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research

Foreword

The papers collected in this volume originated from a conference on *Bilingualism in British education* convened by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research in collaboration with the Leicestershire Education Authority and with the assistance of other authorities in the Midlands. All were written specially for the conference and have now been revised and edited for this publication, which it is hoped, will encourage further investigation and discussion of the problems they describe.

CILT aims to stimulate informed discussion of major problems of languages in education. From time to time it arranges regional conferences where local experience can be brought to bear on national issues. A previous regional conference, held at Manchester in 1973, was reported in *The space between... English and foreign languages in school*, CILT, 1974.

G E Perren,
Director,
Centre for Information on
Language Teaching and Research

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1

G E Perren

Bilingualism and British education

The term *bilingualism* has many implications and is susceptible to many interpretations. The following chapters are concerned primarily with practical questions which appear to be important to the development of education in Britain. Topics such as the psychology of bilingualism, the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence or the design of teaching materials for use by bilingual pupils are not discussed, although all have been the subjects of extensive debate and numerous books. The conference for which the papers were originally prepared concentrated on three general aspects: the existence in Britain, and particularly in England, of many thousands of bilingual children whose mother-tongues are largely ignored educationally; the examples of planned or structured bilingual education offered by Wales (and to a very limited extent in Scotland); the relationship between the techniques of foreign language teaching and the notion and reality of bilingualism. The collective study of these three aspects of bilingualism in Britain may illuminate each one individually and could well contribute to finding solutions to some practical and urgent educational problems.

Bilingualism and minorities

Although bilingualism has been widespread in Britain for many years, its relationship to education in England particularly has been largely ignored or masked by other preoccupations. This may be because of traditional assumptions made about the priority in the curriculum of the English language, and about the relative unimportance of all others in popular social, economic and cultural life—assumptions which are reinforced by the fact that the rest of the world appears to be increasingly anxious to learn English. More recently we have recognised that the composition and expectations of society in this country are quite different from what they were when many of our present curricular values were first established. Britain now includes numerous large and small linguistic minorities, with many different mother-tongues, all sending their children to schools where the only recognised medium is English and which at the secondary level increasingly aim to provide wider opportunities for all pupils, irrespective of their previous educational attainments. Exceptions to this are

independent fee-paying schools originally established for expatriate foreign communities. The most notable example is the Lycée français de Londres, dating from 1915, where 2,200 children, aged 4-19 years, follow a completely French-medium curriculum, with some provision for British 'O' and 'A' level courses. At present this school attracts 28% British children as well as numerous other nationalities. A French-medium primary school in Hammersmith has a further 215 children.

But to most of the minority groups in Britain whose children attend maintained schools the advantages of an education which involves acquiring a fully operational command of the world's most marketable language are clear enough. The use of any language other than English as the main teaching medium in schools could have severe disadvantages: it could prejudice the effective learning of English; it could limit curricular choice; it could impose constraints on future employment; it might suggest discrimination or segregation. If the first objective is to be equality of opportunity, then the means to achieve and exploit equality must be provided. The language of good jobs as well as of higher education is clearly English—and not only in Britain.

Given this state of affairs, the most obvious educational help for minorities has appeared to be the effective teaching of English as a second language, which would remove their learning handicaps, leading eventually perhaps to some kind of linguistic assimilation through education. Multiculturalism has been accepted—indeed to some extent exploited—as a new dimension in education, but its associated multilingualism often seemed to be too complex to permit much specific educational provision to be made for it. But if from the point of view of the administrator or headmaster the school population has become multicultural (and multilingual), the individual child is a bilingual. He knows and uses his mother-tongue at home; he learns and uses English at school. For different purposes in different places and with different people he employs two different languages. For him multilingualism or multiculturalism is a sociological abstraction: real life is bilingual. To some extent then, the very complexity of a multilingual society may distract our attention from the simpler facts of bilingualism in relation to individuals, just as the relative ease with which concessions can be made to obvious cultural diversity (such as food or dress) allow us to overlook diversity of language.

The distribution of linguistic minorities within Britain in 1971 is amply illustrated in chapter 2; the figures however show only the foreign-born and do not include the children born here. Examples of the efforts made by minority communities themselves to compensate for the lack of their own languages in the public education system are described in chapter 3, although it should be noted that anything like a complete picture covering the whole country is lacking. Both chapters 2 and 3 indicate the urgent need for more detailed information about the linguistic composition of the school population than is at present available.

Many of the minorities in our midst come from countries where bilingualism or

multilingualism is widespread in education—from India, Pakistan or East Africa—and are no strangers to the idea of education through a second language, often English. The Asian communities from East Africa have undergone a second educational transplantation. In some ways the shock is greater to us (and to the British educational system) than it is to them.

Concentration on the need for better English teaching has itself recently turned attention to bilingualism, and a notable passage in the Bullock Report well summarises the situation:

> 'The importance of bilingualism, both in education and for society in general, has been increasingly recognised in Europe and in the USA. We believe that its implications for Britain should receive equally serious study. When bilingualism in Britain is discussed it is seldom if ever with reference to the inner city immigrant populations, yet over half the immigrant pupils in our schools have a mother-tongue which is not English, and in some schools this means over 75% of the total number on roll. . . These children are genuine bilinguals, but this fact is often ignored or unrecognised by the schools. Their bilingualism is of great importance to the children and their families, and also to society as a whole. In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world we should see it as an asset. . . the school should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and wherever possible should help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother-tongue. . . Confidence and ability in this language will help the children to the same qualities in their second language, English.'[1]

But if this passage seeks to resolve possible conflict between the educational claims of the mother tongue and English by pointing out that one may support the other, it tells us little about how to reconcile the complex distribution of a multilingual population with the educational desirability of providing widespread mother-tongue instruction. Moreover, the difference between minimal language maintenance (e.g. by the odd period of mother-tongue teaching, perhaps on the lines of religious instruction) and 'deepening' knowledge of or developing skill in the use of the mother-tongue could be very great indeed. The range of possible options is wide; the organisational and financial implications are infinitely complicated and variable. How then can the 'positive attitude', which is so easy to recommend, best be translated into practical measures, which are so complex to implement?

A preoccupation with 'immigrants' from Asia or Africa should not let us forget that a very large number of speakers of European languages live permanently in Britain (see chapter 2). Some have been here a long time, but many more may become resident for extended working periods during which their children will

[1] *A language for life* Report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the Chairmanship of Sir Alan Bullock FBA, HMSO 1975, pp. 293-4.

attend school. Proposals for an EEC directive to member states to enforce provision of mother-tongue teaching for the children of migrant workers have been reported.[2] It has been estimated that in 1972 there were 6000 Italian and 12,000 other European children of this kind in Britain. Apart from the organisational cost, providing mother-tongue teaching for the children of migrants might present some new problems in teaching languages which already have a place in our schools.[3]

Numerous questions arise from such aspects of bilingualism in British education—affecting both immigrants and migrants. For example, if language maintenance organised by the minorities themselves is more acceptable or more feasible than making provision within the public education system, is any form of support and control of such independent part-time schooling desirable, on social, educational or political grounds? If so, how should it be exercised? Again, if provision for minority languages can be made within the regular school system, what form should this take? Apart from the problem of providing teachers, how many languages can be provided for and on what grounds should these be chosen? And what exactly does language maintenance imply—as distinct from providing instruction through the medium of the child's mother-tongue? The answer will vary according to the nature of the language concerned, the age and previous education of the pupil, and the status of the minority language in the wider community. Chapter 9 can profitably be read with this question in mind. There may also be a case for language revival: that is, introducing the mother-tongue at a comparatively late stage in schooling after first establishing English as the principal language of education. 'Maintenance' may in fact be a misleading term since for children unable to read and write their mother-tongue a great deal of new learning is implied. Similarly, 'revival' may include new learning as well as resuscitation.

Bilingualism in Welsh education

Where only Welsh and English are involved, the picture looks much simpler than that described in the previous section, although the presence of other languages in Welsh towns should not perhaps be completely overlooked. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 show the application of an agreed national policy for Welsh and English, varied according to local requirements, and describe also practical tasks of organisation which arise from different patterns of bilingual instruction and/or language maintenance. The issue in Wales is clouded neither by multilingualism nor by any lack of determination of the status (cultural, political or legal) of the languages concerned. However, whether the foreign language be Welsh or English, the experience gained of teaching it, particularly to younger children (against the relatively stable and defined social status of the two languages), seems of relevance to England and can be studied with profit. Problems of secondary

[2] *Times Educational Supplement*, 5.12.75, p. 3.

[3] It might produce interesting variations on some old anomalies: such as that of the French-speaking child who failed his 'O' level in French because he did not know enough English.

school organisation, with details of practical solutions, are dealt with in chapter 6.

How far the experience of Wales is applicable to the problems of England is of course a question for debate. The language policy in Wales originates from a different historical background, and rests on a quite different relationship between the principal minority and majority languages, politically and legally. But this is not to say that the classroom exponents of different policies could not have many techniques in common. The author of chapter 4 has elsewhere provided a valuable assessment, which contains nevertheless a caution:

> 'Each bilingual community is unique, just as every situation in which language is used is unique. This is not to deny certain similarities amongst communities, whether we are looking at large countries, small closely-knit societies or immigrant populations in large cities... Nor does it ignore common factors which occur in all learning and teaching contexts... Any teacher faced with language teaching and learning problems in whatever situation can have light thrown on his difficulties by an examination of those encountered by others in entirely different contexts. There is certainly no suggestion that the study of one bilingual community has no bearing on practice in the others, but the only practicable and acceptable procedure is to move from the particular to the general as far as one can. The range of linguistic backgrounds found in the classrooms of Wales, for instance, will be paralleled in other bilingual situations, but the patterns will be different and for the teacher the problems will vary according to the nature of languages, both intrinsically and dependent on their relative status...'[4]

There are of course many other countries whose experience may be relevant, but within Britain one should not overlook long established provision made for Gaelic-speaking children in Scotland. Although the number of monoglot Gaelic speakers is now very small,[5] there seems to be the possibility of increase in the teaching of Gaelic as a second language, associated, like Welsh, with its special national and historical status.

Bilingualism and foreign language teaching

So far this paper has referred, first, to the relationship between English as a foreign language and the mother-tongue of minorities; and secondly, to the relationship between English and Welsh in Wales—where either may be the mother-tongue. There is however, a third aspect of bilingualism, based on the proposition that whenever one consciously teaches any foreign language for use (corresponding perhaps to level 2 communication as described in chapter 9), one is to some degree trying to produce a bilingual. Thus the concept of

[4] Derrick Sharp, *Language in bilingual communities*, Edward Arnold, 1973, pp. 11-12.

[5] Reported as 974 in 1961, although the number of bilingual Gaelic speakers was then 80,000 and reported to have increased since.

bilingualism can usefully be applied to the teaching of French, German, Spanish, Italian and Russian as foreign languages to English speakers, more especially if the foreign language is to be used for study or instruction to any degree.[6] Moreover, it helps to clarify aims and objectives in the classroom by imposing realistic criteria of performance which are often neglected. There is little point in teaching a foreign language 'for its own sake' unless we are trying to produce academic linguists or philologists. In schools we have often assumed that foreign language learning has a beneficial 'educational effect'—almost irrespective of the level of practical skill in making use of the language which is achieved. The validity of such assumptions is questioned by those who perceive no such benefit for large numbers of pupils, and most teachers today would insist that without the attainment of certain minimal levels of communicative skill, foreign language teaching has little value. A further extension is of course, the teaching of 'modern languages' to pupils who themselves had to learn English as a second language; the performance of such children in a second foreign language would well repay detailed study. In such cases and others, the closer co-ordination of English—whether as a mother-tongue or as a foreign language—with 'modern language' teaching could be very fruitful.

Bilingualism

It would be adventurous to say the least to attempt to define *bilingualism* in precise terms, since it is used to describe an infinite variety of relationships which may exist between two languages, either in the individual or in society. In this paper it has been used principally to denote the use of two languages by individuals, irrespective of their degree of proficiency in either. Similarly *bilingual education* can signify the use of two languages in teaching, irrespective of the extent to which one is used more than another, although the use of a second language *only* in classes designed to teach that language would not justify the employment of this term. Much confusion can arise if *bilingualism* and *bilingual education* are assumed to have absolute meanings or if the bilingualism of different individuals is equated and bilingual education in different countries is expected to be the same. For those who require a more comprehensive construct of bilingualism in relationship to education, a notable attempt to frame a typology covering all aspects of the use of two different languages in school has been made by W F Mackey,[7] which covers such variables as:

(a) The learner at home and the language he uses there.

(b) The curriculum in the school, and the languages used and taught.

(c) The language of the community in the nation.

(d) The functions of the languages—including their relative status and differences (i.e. language distance).

[6] Note for example, the establishment of *sections bilingues* in some schools.

[7] W F Mackey, *Bilingual education in a binational school*, Newbury House, 1972, appendix D, pp. 149-171.

This scheme covers almost all aspects from the unilingual education of bilingual children in a unilingual community to the bilingual education of unilingual children in bilingual communities.

Another authority draws attention to the pervasiveness of bilingualism as a social factor:

> 'Bilingualism is so complicated a phenomenon that one has the giddy feeling that in speaking of it one speaks of all things at once. It has been studied by psychologists because it raises problems about the use of two sets of language skills by a single individual and problems about the sometimes conflicting emotions and attitudes associated by the individual with his two languages. It has been studied by educators because of the basic relationship of language to all learning, because of the access which bilingualism allows to two cultures, and because of the administrative problems to which it gives rise It has been studied by linguists because of its effects on language usage. It has been studied by sociologists and anthropologists because associated with language are attitudes and norms which have an effect on social and cultural institutions. Finally it has been studied by political scientists who see in it a challenge to political institutions.'[8]

But if we are concerned with bilingualism as educators 'because of the basic relationship of language to all learning', we cannot ignore the other reasons for its importance. The nature and impact of bilingualism in our society will depend very much on what educators of all kinds do about it; it cannot be ignored, it could become disruptive, it might be made into a national advantage.

In many countries of the world bilingualism has for long been an accepted condition of society and their planning or educational policy has provided for linguistic minorities as a matter of course. Others with long established minorities for which little provision was formerly made have recently increased it.[9] Some have extended the provision made for older minorities to those which have recently arrived by immigration.[10] There is certainly no shortage of experience of the innumerable facets of bilingualism among the world's educators: completely monolingual national educational systems are rare indeed.

In England public education remains monolingual—much as it was before there were sizeable linguistic minorities here, and such provision as has been made for minorities (by special English teaching) has been directed towards keeping it so. Because there were no historic language divisions this appeared appropriate. Yet *outside* the school system it is clear that minorities are actively conserving the use of their languages and may continue to do so. Formidable problems arise as

[8] J Macnamara, Bilingualism in the modern world, *Journal of Social Issues*, 23,2, 1967, p. 5.

[9] Notably the United States and Canada, but also Australia and France.

[10] e.g. Sweden.

soon as we consider how best to provide for any linguistic diversity in maintained schools, but these problems can hardly be assessed, let alone tackled on a national scale without much more information than we now have about the size, distribution and needs of the populations concerned.[11] The comparative lack of current research into such educational aspects of bilingualism in Britain is noticeable.[12] The dimensions of diversity must be defined before overall educational needs can be quantified and provided for.

[11] See chapter 10, p. 87 below.

[12] See Appendix 1.

2

Kiran Campbell-Platt

Distribution of linguistic minorities in Britain

This paper examines the geographical location of some of the main overseas-born minorities in Great Britain. The minorities have been selected partly because of numerical size and partly because they form identifiable linguistic groups in which the mother-tongue is still widely spoken and is likely to be widely spoken in the immediate future. They include, in roughly descending order of numerical importance, speakers of Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, German, Polish, Italian, Greek, Spanish and Cantonese or Hakka.

Mother-tongues of the selected birth-place groups

It is impossible to construct, from published sources, an accurate linguistic map of minorities in Britain. The mother-tongues of some of the main European birthplace groups in this country such as Italians, Spaniards and those from Malta and Gozo are distinct and identifiable languages with relatively minor degrees of regional differences within them. But not all languages of European minorities are as straightforward. The German and Polish-born, for example, include significant minorities with Jewish religious backgrounds in which the *lingua franca* was (and in a small proportion still is) Yiddish rather than the language of their country of birth.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews estimate that there are approximately 410,000 Jews in Britain, the majority of whom were born here. Yiddish is only spoken by a very small proportion of this population; but on the other hand the comprehension of modern Hebrew is a necessity for practising Jews. In the early 1970's there were 24 primary schools (4,000 children) and ten secondary schools (2,500 children) in the London area where the medium of instruction was English but where Hebrew was taught as a spoken language. In addition, it is estimated by the Board of Deputies that there are about 10,000 children attending part-time classes in Hebrew in London. There is also similar secondary, primary and part-time education for Jewish children in other areas of Jewish settlement such as Manchester, Reading, Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow and

Leeds. Only two schools where the medium of instruction is Yiddish have been established, in North London and in Manchester.

Table 1: Distribution of overseas-born population of Great Britain by selected countries of birth, 1971

Country of birth		*Number resident in Great Britain*	
Total population of Great Britain			53,978,540
Total born in Great Britain			50,388,690
Total overseas-born population (UK)		3,088,110	
of which:			
Total Europe		*632,770*	
of which:	Germany		157,680
	Italy		108,980
	Poland		110,925
	Spain		49,470
	Malta and Gozo		33,840
*Total NC * Africa*		*164,205*	
of which:	Ghana		11,215
	Kenya		59,500
	Nigeria		28,565
	Tanzania		14,375
	Uganda		12,590
*Total NC * Asia and Oceania*		*638,285*	
of which:	Ceylon		17,040
	Cyprus		73,295
	Hong Kong		29,520
	India		321,995
	Malaysia		25,685
	Pakistan		139,935
	Singapore		27,335
Other countries			
	China**		13,495

(Census 1971, Great Britain, Country of birth tables)

* New Commonwealth countries ** mainland and Formosa

In the absence of any data from past censuses on the mother-tongue of the individual, not only Jews, but other minorities within minorities from Central and Eastern Europe with distinct languages (such as Latvians and Serbs) cannot be identified either by size or location, but are classified within the larger birth-place groups. Thus a significant proportion of the Pakistani-born population speak Bengali rather than Urdu but census data cannot tell us about these

variations. Individuals and organisations in contact with particular minorities are, in the absence of other data, the most reliable source of information on the distribution and location of these minorities. This paper does not therefore purport to do more than offer a few useful pointers.

The available data on the location of certain birth-place groups and on their size is, however, an important guide to the extent to which bilingualism may exist.

Table 4 shows that the largest concentration of the Polish-born population was in the London borough of Ealing in 1971. The largest settlements of all birth-place groups were found in the Greater London area and consequently the majority of foreign language schools or classes are found to be established in London boroughs. Table 6 shows that the vast majority of the Spanish-born population was resident in the GLC with small populations of 200 to 300 in a number of county boroughs.

The mother-tongues of African birth-place groups cannot be deduced from their country of birth. In Nigeria, for example, the three main languages are Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa with English as the official language. Most African states are plurilingual; sometimes made more so by immigration. Of the population born in selected East African countries, the Kenyan-born population was the largest birth-place group in 1971. This population includes numbers of immigrant Asian origin, forming separate linguistic minorities and speaking mainly Punjabi, Hindi or Gujarati, predominantly the last. Swahili is the most widely spoken African language in Tanzania, Kenya and to a lesser extent in Uganda. It is, however, the mother-tongue only of a minority, although used by many as a *lingua franca*. English is also widespread.

There are similar difficulties in identifying the mother-tongues of the population born in Asia and Oceania. The population born in India and Pakistan is widely distributed in sizeable concentrations around Greater London and other boroughs. Of the Indian-born population, there is much evidence to suggest that over 50 per cent are Punjabi-speaking with sizeable Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali and Tamil-speaking minorities. The majority of the Pakistani-born population is likely to be Punjabi/Urdu-speaking with a significant minority of Bengali-speakers from the territory now known as Bangladesh. In Sri Lanka (Ceylon), the main languages spoken are Sinhala and English (the second language) and Tamil.

Languages spoken in Cyprus are mainly Greek and Turkish; the population born in Cyprus resident in this country is mainly Greek-speaking. Table 11 shows that the largest number of Cypriots were resident in the London borough of Haringey in 1971 followed by Islington, Enfield and Hackney. Table 11 and Table 15 show the distribution by boroughs in Greater London of the population born in China and Hong Kong. Although different boroughs show different concentrations of the two birth-place groups, both minorities are likely to communicate in Cantonese or Hakka. A study by Victoria Fong entitled *Planning for and development of the Chinese community in London* (1975) states that the

majority of the 'Chinese' are from Hong Kong and the new territories with a small number from Taiwan and mainland China. As with other birth-place groups the highest concentrations were in the GLC area. Victoria Fong also stated that there were several Chinese schools throughout London with students often coming from distances over 100 miles away. The classes are mainly run by voluntary tutors and aim to teach Cantonese. The Chinese Association of Commerce which provided free language classes, was at that time discussing the possibility of operating a full-time bilingual school for Chinese, subject to approval by the Inner London Education Authority.

Statistical Information

The statistical information in this paper is based on the *Census 1971 County Reports* and *Census 1971, Great Britain, Country of Birth.* Although the figures relate to the geographical location of selected birth-place groups in 1971, it is unlikely that their distribution has changed radically between 1971 and 1975, though numbers of one or two minorities, particularly Gujarati-speakers from East Africa, may have increased substantially since then. The figures relate only to people born in the selected countries and do not include children born in Great Britain to parents born overseas. The figures should, therefore, be regarded as a conservative estimate of the total size of the groups.

The three sections following provide information on the location of populations born in selected countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

Distribution of the population born in selected countries of Europe

This section looks at the location in 1971 of the populations born in Germany, Poland, Italy, Spain and Malta and Gozo.

Distribution by county boroughs in Great Britain

Table 2 shows the distribution by those county boroughs in Great Britain where at least one birthplace group numbered at least 1,000 or more. It is apparent from this table that the largest concentration of each group was in the GLC area in 1971. The different pattern of location for each group is highlighted by the table: German, Italian and Polish-born groups had populations of 1,000 or more in many county boroughs outside London, while those born in Spain and Malta and Gozo were not strongly represented. Table 3 shows boroughs where the population born in Germany numbered 1,000 or more in 1971; the greatest numbers outside the GLC area were resident in Birmingham (CB) and in Edinburgh. Table 4 gives similar figures for the population born in Poland and shows that this had a sizeable number resident in nine county boroughs outside the GLC area compared with only six for the German-born. The largest numbers were in Manchester and Birmingham in 1971, followed closely by Bradford, Leeds and Nottingham. Table 5 shows again that the largest numbers of those born in Italy were in the GLC area with the greatest number outside this being in Bedford District, followed by Peterborough (New Town), and Glasgow.

Table 2: Distribution of the population born in selected European countries, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Country of birth*				
	Germany	Italy	Poland	Spain	Malta and Gozo
Great Britain	157,680	108,980	110,925	49,470	33,840
GLC	34,300	32,545	32,505	25,640	8,305
Derby (CB)	–	–	1,220	–	–
Bristol (CB)	1,070	1,000	1,010	–	–
Portsmouth (CB)	–	–	–	–	1,180
Peterborough–New Town	–	2,005	–	–	–
Manchester (CB)	1,185	(910)	2,015	–	–
Leicester (CB)	–	–	1,505	–	–
Nottingham (CB)	–	1,090	1,725	–	–
Birmingham	1,605	1,000	2,250	–	–
Coventry (CB)	–	–	1,255	–	–
Bradford (CB)	–	–	1,940	–	–
Leeds (CB)	1,185	–	1,885	–	–
Edinburgh (City of)	1,455	–	–	–	–
Glasgow (City of)	1,015	1,240	–	–	–
Bedford District	–	3,785	–	–	–

* Boroughs where at least one birthplace group numbered 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 3: Distribution of the population born in Germany, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Germany*
Great Britain	157,680
GLC	34,300
(of which: Barnet	4,330)
Bristol (CB)	1,070
Manchester (CB)	1,185
Birmingham (CB)	1,605
Leeds (CB)	1,185
Edinburgh (City of)	1,455
Glasgow (City of)	1,015

* Boroughs where the German-born population numbered at least 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 4: Distribution of the population born in Poland, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Poland*
Great Britain	110,925
GLC	32,505
(of which: Ealing	3,890)
Derby (CB)	1,220
Bristol (CB)	1,010
Manchester (CB)	2,015
Leicester (CB)	1,505
Nottingham (CB)	1,725
Birmingham (CB)	2,250
Coventry (CB)	1,255
Bradford (CB)	1,940
Leeds (CB)	1,885

* Boroughs where the Polish-born population numbered at least 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 5: Distribution of the population born in Italy, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Italy*
Great Britain	108,980
GLC	32,545
(of which: Islington	3,590)
Bristol (CB)	1,000
Peterborough, New Town	2,065
Manchester (CB)	(910)
Nottingham (CB)	1,090
Birmingham (CB)	1,000
Glasgow (City of)	1,240
Bedford District	3,785

* Boroughs where the Italian-born population numbered at least 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 6: Distribution of the population born in Spain, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Spain*
Great Britain	49,470
GLC	25,640
(of which: Westminster	5,325)
Reading (CB)	215
Cardiff (CB)	315
Bristol (CB)	245
Liverpool (CB)	205
Manchester (CB)	330
Leicester (CB)	320
Oxford (CB)	305
Leeds (CB)	200

* Boroughs where the Spanish-born population numbered at least 200 or more in 1971

Table 6 gives figures for the population born in Spain by selected boroughs where this population numbered 200 or more. The lower 'cut-off' figure was used because apart from the GLC area there was no other area in Great Britain where this population numbered 1,000 or more. Manchester, Leicester, Cardiff and Oxford were the only boroughs where this birth-place group numbered over 300. A similar low 'cut-off' figure was used in Table 7 for the distribution of the population born in Malta and Gozo. For this population, the GLC area and Portsmouth and Plymouth seemed to be the relatively important areas of residence.

Distribution by selected London boroughs

The foregoing tables showed the greater importance of the GLC area for all the selected European birth-place groups. Table 8 shows those London boroughs where at least one group numbered 1,000 or more in 1971. The table shows that of the population born in Germany, the greatest number was resident in Barnet, Camden and Westminster in 1971. The population born in Italy showed a greater spread with the largest numbers resident in Islington, Camden, Westminster and Lambeth. The population born in Poland was similar in size to that born in Italy and showed a similar distribution of fairly large numbers resident in about twelve London boroughs. The largest numbers were resident in Ealing, Barnet, Brent, Westminster, Hackney and Hammersmith. For the population born in Spain, Westminster, followed by Kensington and Chelsea seemed to be of greater relative importance closely followed by Camden with a Spanish-born population of nearly 2,000. The largest concentrations of the Spanish-born population, not only by boroughs in Greater London, but also in Great Britain, were in Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea (5,325 and 4,395 respectively). The population born in Malta and Gozo showed a concentration approaching 1,000 only in Tower Hamlets.

Table 7: Distribution of the population born in Malta and Gozo, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Malta and Gozo*
Great Britain	33,840
GLC	8,305
(of which: Tower Hamlets	985)
Plymouth (CB)	860
Cardiff (CB)	410
Bristol (CB)	225
Portsmouth (CB)	1,180
Southampton (CB)	390
Manchester (CB)	230
Birmingham (CB)	295

* Where the population born in Malta and Gozo numbered at least 200 or more in 1971

Table 8: Distribution of the population born in selected countries of Europe, by selected Greater London boroughs,* 1971

Area of residence	*Country of birth*				
	Germany	Italy	Poland	Spain	Malta and Gozo
Great Britain	157,680	108,980	110,925	49,470	33,840
GLC	34,300	32,545	32,505	25,640	8,305
Barnet	*4,330*	1,775	2,640	1,090	–
Brent	2,260	1,385	2,740	1,100	–
Bromley	1,205	–	–	–	–
Camden	3,010	2,265	1,485	1,890	–
Croydon	1,215	–	–	–	–
Ealing	1,235	–	*3,890*	–	–
Enfield	–	2,195	–	–	–
Hackney	–	1,110	1,815	–	–
Hammersmith	–	1,100	1,830	1,520	–
Haringey	–	1,820	1,190	–	–
Harrow	1,130	–	–	–	–
Islington	–	*3,590*	–	1,340	–
Kensington and Chelsea	1,880	1,680	1,555	4,395	–
Lambeth	–	2,115	1,460	1,385	–
Richmond-upon-Thames	1,030	–	–	–	–
Tower Hamlets	–	–	1,020	–	(985)
Wandsworth	1,155	1,470	1,740	–	–
Westminster	2,610	2,675	1,920	*5,325*	–

* Boroughs where at least one birthplace group numbered 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 9: Distribution of the population born in selected African countries, by selected Greater London boroughs,* 1971

Area of residence	*Country of birth*				
	Ghana	Kenya	Nigeria	Tanzania	Uganda
Great Britain	11,215	59,500	28,565	14,375	12,590
GLC	6,840	24,535	18,540	5,905	5,560
Barnet	–	2,185	–	–	–
Brent	(720)	3,480	(940)	–	1,000
Croydon	–	(995)	–	–	–
Ealing	–	3,215	–	–	–
Hackney	–	–	1,685	–	–
Haringey	–	(920)	1,290	–	–
Hounslow	–	1,895	–	–	–
Islington	–	–	1,850	–	–
Lambeth	(780)	(815)	2,700	–	–
Lewisham	–	–	1,105	–	–
Newham	–	1,615	–	–	–
Southwark	–	–	1,165	–	–
Wandsworth	(910)	1,375	1,800	–	–

* Selected boroughs where at least one birth-place group numbered 1,000 or more in 1971

Distribution of the population born in selected countries of Africa

In this section information is given on the distribution of the population born in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda, mainly by Greater London boroughs as four of these groups did not have any sizeable populations in areas outside the GLC area.

Table 9 shows that of all the selected groups only those born in Nigeria and Kenya had sizeable numbers resident in a number of London boroughs. Of the population born in Ghana, the largest number were resident in Wandsworth, Lambeth and Brent. The population born in Kenya was the largest single African birth-place group resident in the GLC area in 1971. Populations of 1,000 or more were resident in six London boroughs with the greatest number in Ealing and Brent. The distribution of those born in Nigeria was similar to those born in Kenya with the largest number in Lambeth. The population of those born in Tanzania and Uganda did not show concentrations of 1,000 or more in any London borough with the exception of 1,000 Ugandans in Brent. Table 10 shows the distribution of the population born in Kenya by selected boroughs in Great Britain. A similar distribution for the other groups is not shown as these populations did not have sizeable numbers in any borough in Great Britain.

This table shows that Leicester and Birmingham had the largest number of Kenya-born persons resident with the exception of the GLC area.

Table 10: Distribution of the population born in Kenya, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Kenya*
Great Britain	59,500
GLC	24,535
(of which: Brent	3,480)
Bolton (CB)	1,010
Leicester (CB)	4,805
Birmingham (CB)	2,945
Coventry (CB)	1,195
Bradford (CB)	(945)
Leeds (CB)	(890)

* Where the Kenyan-born population numbered about 1,000 or more in 1971

Distribution of the population born in selected countries of Asia and Oceania

The distribution of populations born in Ceylon, Cyprus, Hong Kong, China, India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Singapore is examined in this section.

Distribution by Greater London Boroughs

Table 11 which gives figures by borough for the populations of selected birth-places where at least one group numbered 1,000 or more shows that only those born in Cyprus, India, and Pakistan were resident in many London boroughs in sizeable numbers. The largest numbers of those born in Cyprus were in Haringey, Islington, Enfield and Hackney in 1971 and 1,000 or more were found in twelve London boroughs. Those born in India formed the largest single birth-place group in all London boroughs with the exception of Southwark, with the largest concentrations in Ealing, Brent, Hounslow, Newham and Barnet. Of those born in Pakistan and resident in the GLC area (a birth-place group which was smaller numerically than the German-born in 1971), sizeable populations were found in ten London boroughs the largest number being in Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest. Those born in Ceylon, Hong Kong, China, Malaysia and Singapore were not concentrated in any numbers in particular London boroughs.

Distribution by selected county boroughs in Great Britain

Table 11 shows where the population born in India numbered at least 1,000 or more in 1971. It is apparent that sizeable numbers were to be found in most boroughs with particular concentrations in Leicester, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Coventry and Bradford.

Table 13 shows that of the population born in Pakistan, Birmingham and Bradford had greater relative numbers. The distribution of the population born in Cyprus is shown in Table 14; the cut-off figure for this population is 200 as the majority was resident in the GLC area. Birmingham was the only county borough where the Cyprus-born population numbered 1,000 or more in 1971, followed by Manchester with about 500.

Table 15 shows boroughs where the population born in Hong Kong and China numbered 200 or more in 1971. Groups of 400 or more of those born in Hong Kong were found in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and in Glasgow. Of those born in China, the only large concentration was in Liverpool (565) with comparatively large numbers (100 or more) in Edinburgh, Manchester, Leicester and Birmingham. The combined populations of those born in Hong Kong and China showed the greatest concentration in Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Table 11: Distribution of the population born in selected countries of Asia and Oceania, by selected Greater London boroughs,* 1971

Area of residence	*Countries of birth*							
	Ceylon	Cyprus	Hong Kong	China**	India	Malaysia	Pakistan	Singapore
Great Britain	17,040	73,295	29,520	13,495	321,995	25,685	139,935	27,335
GLC	8,470	53,095	6,865	3,815	106,380	8,520	30,135	4,460
Barking	–	–	–	–	1,105	–	–	–
Barnet	–	2,640	–	–	4,870	–	–	–
Bexley	–	–	–	–	2,105	–	–	–
Brent	–	1,750	–	–	8,050	–	1,645	–
Bromley	–	–	–	–	2,010	–	–	–
Camden	–	2,850	–	–	3,065	–	1,225	–
Croydon	–	–	–	–	2,615	–	1,060	–
Ealing	–	–	–	–	16,485	–	1,970	–
Enfield	–	4,020	–	–	1,815	–	–	–
Greenwich	–	–	–	–	2,960	–	–	–
Hackney	–	3,985	–	–	2,440	–	–	–
Hammersmith	–	–	–	–	2,260	–	–	–
Haringey	–	11,865	–	–	3,295	–	–	–
Harrow	–	–	–	–	2,775	–	–	–
Havering	–	–	–	–	1,020	–	–	–
Hillingdon	–	–	–	–	2,685	–	–	–
Hounslow	–	–	–	–	6,875	–	1,250	–
Islington	–	7,300	–	–	1,765	–	–	–
Kensington and Chelsea	–	–	–	–	2,685	–	–	–
Kingston-upon-Thames	–	–	–	–	1,265	–	–	–
Lambeth	–	2,265	–	–	3,510	–	–	–
Lewisham	–	1,535	–	–	1,605	–	–	–
Merton	–	–	–	–	2,760	–	–	–
Newham	–	–	–	–	5,900	–	2,025	–
Redbridge	–	–	–	–	2,940	–	–	–
Richmond-upon-Thames	–	–	–	–	1,995	–	–	–
Southwark	–	3,310	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sutton	–	–	–	–	1,060	–	–	–
Tower Hamlets	–	1,235	–	–	1,715	–	3,560	–
Waltham Forest	–	1,340	–	–	2,415	–	2,980	–
Wandsworth	–	–	–	–	3,865	–	1,725	–
Westminster	–	1,115	–	–	2,515	–	1,245	–

* Boroughs where at least one birthplace group numbered 1,000 or more in 1971 ; **mainland and Formosa

Table 12: Distribution of the population born in India by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in India*
Great Britain	321,995
GLC	106,380
(of which: Ealing	16,485)
Luton (CB)	1,885
Derby (CB)	3,670
Bristol (CB)	1,535
Southampton (CB)	1,850
Blackburn (CB)	2,520
Bolton (CB)	3,940
Liverpool (CB)	1,145
Manchester (CB)	2,995
Preston (CB)	2,550
Rochdale (CB)	1,035
Central Lancs, New Town	2,830
Leicester (CB)	11,510
Newcastle-upon-Tyne (CB)	1,110
Nottingham (CB)	2,250
Dudley (CB)	1,305
Walsall (CB)	5,035
West Bromwich (CB)	2,900
Wolverhampton (CB)	11,370
Birmingham (CB)	17,885
Coventry (CB)	8,560
Warley (CB)	5,265
Teeside (CB)	1,035
Bradford (CB)	5,965
Dewsbury (CB)	1,225
Huddersfield (CB)	2,500
Leeds (CB)	3,820
Sheffield (CB)	1,030
Edinburgh (City of)	1,330
Glasgow (City of)	2,935
Leamington (MB)	2,070

* Boroughs where the Indian-born population numbered at least 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 13: Distribution of the population born in Pakistan, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Pakistan*
Great Britain	139,935
GLC	30,135
(of which: Tower Hamlets	3,560)
Luton (CB)	2,015
Derby (CB)	1,080
Blackburn (CB)	1,865
Manchester (CB)	3,440
Oldham (CB)	2,480
Rochdale (CB)	2,815
Nottingham (CB)	1,790
Walsall (CB)	1,740
Birmingham (CB)	17,515
Coventry (CB)	1,570
Warley (CB)	1,190
Teeside (CB)	1,575
Bradford (CB)	11,080
Dewsbury (CB)	1,355
Halifax (CB)	1,655
Huddersfield (CB)	2,360
Leeds (CB)	2,520
Sheffield (CB)	2,595
Glasgow (City of)	2,295

* Boroughs where the Pakistani-born population numbered at least 1,000 or more in 1971

Table 14: Distribution of the population born in Cyprus by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Number born in Cyprus*
Great Britain	73,295
GLC	53,095
(of which: Haringey	11,865)
Plymouth (CB)	210
Bristol (CB)	375
Liverpool (CB)	345
Manchester (CB)	490
Brighton (CB)	210
Birmingham (CB)	1,030
Coventry (CB)	235
Leeds (CB)	230
Glasgow (City of)	235

* Boroughs where the Cyprus-born population numbered 200 or more in 1971

Table 15: Distribution of the population born in Hong Kong and China, by selected boroughs,* Great Britain, 1971

Area of residence	*Country of birth*		
	Hong Kong	China**	Hong Kong and China
Great Britain	29,520	13,495	43,015
GLC	6,865	3,815	10,680
Plymouth (CB)	250	70	320
Cardiff (CB)	145	55	200
Bristol (CB)	255	90	345
Portsmouth (CB)	225	95	320
Southampton (CB)	160	90	250
Liverpool (CB)	685	565	1,250
Manchester (CB)	395	175	570
Leicester (CB)	55	155	210
Newcastle-upon-Tyne (CB)	195	65	260
Oxford (CB)	155	65	220
Brighton (CB)	165	60	225
Birmingham (CB)	440	175	615
Coventry (CB)	155	60	215
Teeside (CB)	150	55	205
Leeds (CB)	305	95	400
Sheffield (CB)	205	125	330
Edinburgh (City of)	275	185	460
Glasgow (City of)	450	160	610

* Boroughs where both birthplace groups numbered 200 or more in 1971

** Mainland and Formosa

3	Verity Khan

Provision by minorities for language maintenance

(Acknowledgement is made to the Runnymede Trust for permission to use in this paper information which was originally collected for the Trust by the author.)

A startling number of children belonging to Britain's ethnic minorities attend classes outside the normal school system in which they maintain the use of their mother-tongue. Startling in the sense that no-one seems aware either of the extent or of the increasing demand for such provision, and not so startling considering the nature and development of the minorities in question and the predominant attitudes of the wider society and education system.

Few teachers and others concerned with the mainstream school system know of the existence of week-end schools or evening classes for the mother-tongue of such children, or have thought of its importance for the pupils and their parents, its advantages and disadvantages educationally, and of alternative methods of provision. Little is known of the content and quality of the lessons provided. If mainstream teachers know nothing of the mother-tongue of their pupils, nor recognise the existence of these languages in any practical way in the school setting, they cannot provide fully for the linguistic and overall educational development of these children.

The details of mother-tongue schools presented in this paper were collected in May, June and November 1975. As only two months were available for the initial enquiry, and it was found that making appropriate and reliable contacts over a very wide area was difficult and slow, it was decided to concentrate first on contacts in London, Slough and Bradford. Information about schools elsewhere was obtained through tracing teachers and organisers (often by telephone), including that on schools in Leicester (November). Although the original aim was to collect representative details of mother-tongue schools throughout the country and to try to ascertain *all* the existing schools in one city (Bradford), this was not wholly possible. The figures provided cannot all be regarded as exact, and of course, some will now be out of date. Ideally, the organisers and teachers of

classes and the parents and children in the same linguistic population (whether or not they attended schools) should all have been consulted to check the reliability of information. This was not often possible, and in some cases details were acquired at second-hand and must be regarded as estimates. Throughout, however, informants were helpful and most willing to describe their schemes or needs. Their co-operation is warmly appreciated.

This information, although hurriedly assembled and necessarily incomplete, is nevertheless sufficient to draw attention to the need for a great deal more research. There are important social, educational and political implications arising from the existence of many thousands of bilinguals or potential bilinguals living in England (quite apart from those whose status as such is recognised in Wales or Scotland). More knowledge of the extent, content and quality of the present provision for mother-tongue maintenance and teaching is required as well as reliable estimates of the numbers of speakers of various languages who live in Britain. Without this we have an inadequate picture of the society in which we live.

Mother-tongue schools

The following section contains first some examples of mother-tongue schools in different parts of the country (collected in May and June 1975), and secondly details of mother-tongue schools in two particular cities (Bradford, June 1975 and Leicester, November 1975).

An Italian school

In Slough the Italian School caters for about 150 children. Classes are held in a Roman Catholic school and each child attends once a week. They take place every evening from 5 to 7 p.m. and on Saturday morning there are two separate classes of two hours. The teacher, who is paid by the Italian Embassy, also takes three classes (of one and a half hours duration) in Maidenhead on Saturday afternoons from 1.30 to 6.30 p.m. One class in Maidenhead and one in Slough (of eleven children) take 'O' level. The teacher also takes 'A' level students on Sundays in one of their homes. The other classes are for children of six to seventeen years of age, the majority of whom were born in Britain. There is a special beginners' class for children of all ages who do not have good command of spoken Italian. This year the class has 29 pupils, many of whom have only one Italian parent. Since the school was started in 1968 numbers have continually increased.

A Polish school

The largest Polish school in England is held in Ealing on Saturday mornings in the boys' high school. Other schools are held in Willesden, Forest Hill and Islington so this school has a restricted catchment area, but one which includes the largest Polish settlement in England. There are just over 400 boys and girls attending, their ages ranging between four and sixteen. The school runs from 9 to 1 p.m. on Saturday mornings and the classes cover the Polish language and

Polish geography, singing and dancing and contemporary studies. All the staff (34 including part-timers) are voluntary. The kindergarten class involves four year olds who have no formal teaching. The first form is for five year olds who start reading and writing. The greatest turnover of children is among those who have only one Polish parent. Originally there were only three such pupils, later there were 45, but at present the number has dropped to eighteen. Although Ealing Technical College is now teaching 'O' level Polish many pupils still study for this exam at the Saturday school. In the last five years from ten to eighteen pupils have sat for 'O' level (with only one or two failures). In 1974 nineteen pupils took 'O' level and 26 pupils will sit it in 1975. In 1974 40 pupils at the school and college took 'A' level Polish. The school was established in the early 1950s. In 1963 there were 180 pupils, in 1968 480; since then numbers have remained steady at 400 plus. In September 1974, 50 five-year olds enrolled, compared with only twenty or 25 in the previous year.

Greek schools

There are seven Greek language schools in North London, organised by the North London Cypriot Organisation. There is a language school in Haringey which was started in 1966 and teaches 100 children between six and fourteen. The children attend twice a week from 5 to 6.30 in the evenings. The four teachers are continental Greeks. Another school in Bayswater caters for 200 children and is held only on Saturday mornings for three hours (10 a.m. to 1 p.m.). There are eight classes and eight teachers.

A Chinese school

A Chinese language school is held every Sunday afternoon from 3 to 5 p.m. in a middle school in Leeds. The language taught to approximately 100 students is Cantonese. About twenty voluntary teachers (including university and college students) take the classes for children of five and upwards and the handful of adults who also attend. In the same building other adults attend English classes. This is probably the largest Chinese language school outside London (where many more children are studying at classes in Gerrard Street).

Schools in Bradford

There are evening or week-end classes in Bradford for Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Polish, Ukrainian, Gujarati, Arabic and Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi. (There are no Byelo-Russian, Estonian, Lithuanian, Yugoslav, Bengali, German or Greek language schools although there are small communities of each.) Over 300 pupils attend the Italian school, their ages ranging from six to ten. They attend one evening class and on Saturday. The teachers are qualified and teach language only. About 200 children attend the three Polish schools, eleven children attend the Latvian school and about twenty children attend the Hungarian school. These schools are held at week-ends and include history, religious instruction and folk-dancing. The Ukrainian community has three schools for language. The main school has about 150 students attending for four hours on Saturday mornings.

The children start at the age of five and are divided into classes by age and

ability. The twelve teachers are of varied qualification. Many children take 'O' and 'A' levels in Ukrainian.

120 boys and girls attend the Guru Narak Sikh Temple in Bradford every week-day from 5.30 to 7.30 p.m. for instruction in the Punjabi language. No religious instruction is given to the students who range from five to twenty years of age and include a few adults. They are divided into three classes by standard with three teachers, one the priest and the other two voluntary. Classes were originally held at week-ends but this was found to be inconvenient because of family outings, so in February 1975 the times were altered and the number of students has continued to increase. The five-year olds start immediately to learn the Gurmukhi script.

Gujarati has been taught in Bradford for sixteen years by the Bhartiye Mandal Organisation. At present there are 22 students between five and fourteen. The classes are held on Saturdays and Sundays from 12 to 3 p.m. Hindi is taught to about fifteen children by the Hindu Cultural Society and Hindi and Gujarati classes are due to be extended by another Hindu organisation known as Sangh. Several hundred Pakistani children attend one of the five mosques in Bradford for one or two hours every evening. They are all learning the Quran and thus learn Arabic to a limited standard. The number of children taking separate Urdu classes is unknown. In the Tabligh-ul-Islam mosque 150 students, from eight to 25 years, attend Urdu classes for two and a half hours on Saturday or Sunday.

Schools in Leicester

In Leicester there are over 100 students from six to seventeen learning Ukrainian in classes organised by the Ukrainian Association. There are two classes, with a total of 21 pupils, for older children held in the Association's house on Saturday mornings for three and a half hours. Three or four of these students take 'O' level Ukrainian each year. There are 80 younger children divided into six classes who study from 2.30 to 5.30 on Saturday afternoons in a local school. Besides language classes, Ukrainian history, geography, culture and religion are taught, the latter by the Polish priest. All staff are voluntary but receive a small sum for travelling expenses. The enrolment each year is at present stationary, and although there is less enthusiasm among some of the students in the middle years, they are not allowed to drop out.

The Latvian school in Leicester meets fortnightly at the church house. About twenty children attend (May 1975) and the Latvian language, religion, history, geography and songs are taught by five voluntary teachers.

There are two Polish schools in Leicester, both about 25 years old. The smaller school has 60 pupils ranging from four to fifteen years of age. There are six voluntary teachers of language, history, geography, religion and dancing. The classes are held in a local school which is available free of charge. The larger Polish school had, in 1974-1975, 180 students. There is a nursery class for four and five year olds. The junior school consists of five classes and the 'grammar'

school consists of four classes, covering language, history, geography and culture. There is also a preparation class for 'O' level. One or two 'A' level students are given separate tuition. About thirteen teachers work voluntarily, receiving travelling expenses. The school is held on Saturday mornings from 9 to 1 p.m. for 37 weeks in the year. A bus is used to collect children from all over the city. £50 is collected from the parents to help finance use of the bus but it is costing £300 to run it this year. The school is held in a junior school and although rent used to be paid nothing is paid at present. This school once had 200 to 240 pupils.

The Indian Education Society holds Gujarati classes in two schools in Leicester for a total of approximately 500 children. Classes are held on Friday from 7 to 9 p.m. and on Saturday from 6 to 8 p.m. Twenty to 30 Gujarati teachers receive a nominal fee, and the children attending pay 60p per week. There are two other Gujarati language schools organised by Muslims and Hindus. The first class started in 1964 in a small house with about 25 to 30 students. The numbers of pupils have increased ever since and present facilities cannot meet the demand and there is a waiting list of approximately 50. The school teaches the Gujarati language, religion and culture and help is also given to students who have problems with English and mathematics. There is also a special 'O' level class.

The Sikh Culture and Welfare Society was established in Leicester in May 1974. Local businessmen were asked to contribute towards the school. In this way roughly £300 was collected, including small individual contributions. Two classrooms and a hall in a school are rented. Initial membership started at around 100, and now averages 50 to 60 children. Classes are held every Sunday from 1.30 to 3.30 p.m. and the children range from five to sixteen years of age. Language, religion, geography and cultural studies are taught with the aim of developing the child's identity and pride.

Punjabi is also taught to Sikh children in three Gurdhwaras; the Guru Nanak Gurdhwara, New Walk teaches 50 children of nine to fourteen years of age. The Guru Nanak Gurdhwara in Gwendolen Road has 60 students from six to fourteen years of age and the Sikh Temple Ramgarhia Board, teaches 40 children of six to fifteen years of age.

There are 160 children learning Urdu and Arabic at the Islamic Centre in five classes held every weekday from 5 to 6.30 p.m., one day teaching Arabic, the next Urdu. There is also a class on Saturday mornings from 9 to 11 a.m., and Sunday is the only day on which children do not attend. The two Imams teach as well as other voluntary staff.

Variations in distribution, organisation and content and quality of teaching

These examples of mother-tongue schools help us to imagine a nation-wide situation but permit only guesses at the number of pupils who attend (or would attend if more schools existed).

Certain schools are organised by religious bodies, others by voluntary parents' or community organisations—some of which are given financial backing and specific directives by their Embassy or by cultural or religious institutes. The former usually demand a small fee to help cover the cost of books and other materials, and sometimes to meet the teacher's salary or expenses. The latter often charge no fee, books and materials are supplied, the teacher is paid a full salary and is usually qualified.

Schools differ in the subjects taught. Some concentrate on teaching the mother-tongue but the majority make an effort to incorporate material on the culture, geography and history of the homeland. In some schools singing and dancing are included. In others where preservation of the religious and/or cultural identity of the children is accorded priority, language learning is seen as but one element in a wider syllabus of cultural studies. The media of instruction varies widely. Some schools try to avoid the use of English. Others are forced to use it when some of the students are learning rather than maintaining their mother-tongue. There are some general differences in the way certain minorities approach language teaching, but wide variation occurs from class to class, and teacher to teacher. Similarly there is great variation in the content and quality of teaching and the proficiency attained by the students.

The nature and conditions of the premises also vary widely; some schools are held in the community club, others in the 'church' hall and some in local schools. Many schools that have tried to find a more congenial class-room setting found local headmasters and education authorities unco-operative. Some pay considerable sums in rent, even though they depend on voluntary contributions. There are no doubt hundreds of other small private schools held in homes by paid or voluntary tutors.

The examples of the previous section do not show that some language schools are widespread (e.g. for Polish, Italian, Spanish) while others are limited to one or a few cities with large concentrations of their language speakers (e.g. Punjabi, Chinese, Greek). The examples of Bradford and Leicester illustrate the potential number and type of mother-tongue schools possible in any of our large cities with a history of immigrant settlement.

It is possible that religious institutions such as the Greek Orthodox Church, the Polish Lutheran Church, the Synagogues, the Mosques and Gurdhwaras were the prime instigators of classes in many local areas. Parental demand need not precede their establishment if there are obvious religious significances or benefits to religious education. Gurmukhi, the Punjabi script, enables the learning of the Sikh holy book whereas the Moslem Punjabi speaker of Pakistan must know Arabic to learn the Quran. This is one reason for the relative dearth of Urdu classes.

For many communities of course, the church has a powerful role in the organisation of the daily and community life of its members. In certain cases of enforced migration, or when communities feel culturally threatened, the church

may have assumed a greater role in the protection of the total religious and linguistic heritage of its members. The 'priests' of many communities often take language classes as well as those in religious instruction.

Several communities are helped by centralised government agencies. While in most cases this seems to have arisen from local demand (e.g. Italian) such financial and organisational help also supports and instigates other schemes all over the country. There is a powerful incentive to start schools when organisation and financial responsibility is reduced, and the ability to pay qualified teachers and maintain high standards ensures widespread support and regular attendance.

Jewish education in Britain has always been highly organised. The Jewish child population of Great Britain is estimated at 450,000 and many attend Jewish day schools, part-time schools attached to synagogues, or participate in special withdrawal classes during religious instruction periods. In Manchester, for example, there is a Central Board for Hebrew Education which has a Director of Education and undertakes tasks similar to the London Board. There are the aided King David schools with 1,000 pupils in infants, primary and secondary departments continuing, like the Jewish Free School in London, a century-old tradition. There are also newer schools like those of the Secondary Schools Movement and these are independent schools and independent part-time classes.

The Agregaduria Cultural of the Spanish Embassy organises Spanish language and culture classes throughout Britain. There are 35 centres (six in Manchester, three in Liverpool) holding classes after 4.30 p.m. and on Saturday mornings from 9.30 to 1 p.m. The total number of children taught in Britain is 2,600. There are also nine centres where adults attend at least three times a week, and there is a Spanish bilingual school with 184 students (following the Spanish examination system) in Greenwich. The Spanish Government's annual provision for support is in the region of £215,310, which covers teachers' salaries, hire of classrooms, school books and equipment. All tuition and books are free and the teachers' salaries are based on the salary paid by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, and a supplementary allowance paid by the Spanish Institute of Emigration.

The Italian Embassy has education advisers in ten centres in Britain which altogether run 583 language courses. There are a total of 151 staff teaching 10,330 children. Some of the teachers are resident in Britain, others come from Italy, and two courses a year are organised for teacher training. The estimated expenditure of the Italian Exchequer was £456,494 in 1975 (a 30% increase on 1974).

Such descriptions and comparisons could be continued *ad infinitum* but they are of limited value. Even if an exhaustive survey could be carried out in one local area, or nationally, it would remain impossible to make more than a rough guess at the percentage of children in each community who attend such schools. Similarly no analysis of increasing or decreasing attendance can be conclusive without knowledge of population movement. Few local authorities have

detailed figures of the ethnic or national origin of their population and even if they have birth-place statistics these would not account for British born children.

The meaning and motives of the demand for mother-tongue maintenance

Considering the very different nature of the populations under consideration it is difficult to generalise about the underlying parental concern for mother-tongue maintenance and development. Inevitably there is a complex mixture of explanations (involving personal preferences, particular family and migration situations, available facilities etc) and these are unlikely to remain constant throughout a life-cycle or within any one community.

Parents who are not fluent in English wish to ensure total communication with their children, and these and other parents hope that knowledge of the home language and culture will guard against a widening of the inevitably greater generation and cultural gaps experienced between first and second generation migrants. In many cases children with a non-English mother-tongue, are equally competent in both English and their mother-tongue around the ages of seven to twelve. Then English gradually takes over, and often at a time when the adolescent is questioning his allegiances, and reacting to the discipline of the home. This discipline may be traditional socialisation or a reaction to the apparent anarchy of the school and society's morals in general. There is obviously a natural pride and familiarity of the parents with their language and culture of birth and at the same time a dissatisfaction or difficulty in adjusting to certain new ways at an adult age. Parents also have emotional and common-sense reasons for supporting the development of a child's innate potentialities.

Most parents, particularly those who expect to remain in England, stress the importance of their children attaining a good command of English, but many have come from bi- or multi-lingual countries where a child's acquisition of more than one language is automatic, natural and appears in no way to be detrimental to the learning process. Many parents who have settled in Britain still prefer that their children, particularly daughters, should marry within the community in Britain (e.g. Poles) and/or back home (e.g. Italians, Asians). Coupled with some of these reasons are other practical or idealised motives. Some illiterate parents can now use their children to write home when before they had to pay for this service. Many parents raise the question of their children's visit to the homeland where they must be able to speak to grandparents and to enjoy and learn from their visit to the full. (A large number of Poles, Italians, Spanish, Indians and Pakistanis, for example, holiday in the homeland.) Some parents hope that they and their children will eventually settle in the homeland and others who intend to remain in Britain want their children to have the choice of living in either country. (However well educated they may be in English, illiteracy in the national language remains a major handicap to their employment in most countries.)

For those work-permit holders (e.g. Spanish, Turkish, Greek) or persons without

the security of a British passport there is an added insecurity, a likelihood that even if permanent settlement was desired it would not be attainable. A different but very real insecurity stems from an increasing parental awareness of the rejection (social and economic) their children are likely to experience from the wider society. This varies from the uneducated Pakistani's fear of forcible repatriation to the proud Sikh father who knows his children have access to a certain social status back on his lands in Punjab. Realistic appraisals of their children's future in Britain may cause more parents to open all channels of opportunity which would counterbalance the assumed trend of language shift away from the mother-tongue.

Certain exiled communities (Eastern European and Cypriot), whether they expect or hope for their eventual return, may feel a greater concern to preserve traditions compared with those who can voluntarily return home and always be assured of the maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage. The London Board of Jewish Religious Education Board (founded in 1860) is but one Jewish educational organisation arranging and supervising Hebrew classes.

Such feelings, hopes, and fears, relate to the personality, life-history and present situation of the parents. But whether they are actually able to educate their children in the mother-tongue depends on their own education, available time and the existence of alternative facilities. Some communities such as the Jewish and Eastern European are long established and have developed a tradition of self-help and community effort. Others, because of their more recent arrival, internal divisions or unsettled nature, have not achieved the same level of co-operation or high standard of teaching although the demand be just as great. Added financial and emotional support may come from the church (or Mosque, Temple or Gurdhwara) in certain communities, but this may involve a hazy demarcation between language and religious studies and, in the case of Pakistanis and Bangla Deshis, a divided language loyalty.

Some parents, particularly those joining well established communities or arriving in later migrations, have not had to organise themselves, or pressure others, into establishing mother-tongue instruction, because financial and organizational support has come from official sources external to the community. This support has invariably arisen where a demand was already articulated but it is an important factor influencing parents' appreciation of opportunities and future trends.

The religious affiliations and commitments of parents will influence their assessment of the importance of language classes, particularly when the classes are organised by the church, or when the language is essential to the religion (e.g. Hebrew, Arabic, Gurmukhi). Parental motives may therefore result from a mixture of personal feelings and external influences, and the latter are stronger where pressure to conform derives from a close-knit community.

These kinds of attitudes and concerns predominate, but it is fair to add that another advantage mentioned by some parents and teachers was simply that the

classes were an alternative pastime. Parents of both European and Asian origin are often concerned by the apparent freedom of children in Britain, their leisure activities and lack of responsibility in, and for, the family. Aware that their children may react to their restrictions parents are pleased to find some acceptable activities where children are supervised and mix with their own countrymen. This raises the question of whose opinion is to be given priority, that of the potential students, of their parents or of community spokesmen. There are doubtless many youngsters who say they do not care, but there are also many cases of teenagers who regret they missed the opportunity to become literate and fluent in their mother-tongue.

The identification and articulation of demand

The enquiry on which this report is based indicated a very widespread demand among parents for the establishment, extension and improvement of facilities for mother-tongue teaching. Many well established mother-tongue schools show no likelihood of a decrease in numbers of students attending. Others, more recently established, are growing steadily in enrolment and certain communities that have not as yet established any language provision are planning to do so. There are a few examples of schools closing or attendance declining in the last few years. The former is often due to mis-management and the latter to population dispersal (e.g. The Gujarati school in Bradford) or a decrease in the numbers of language speakers. (The Estonian and Lithuanian communities in Bradford have both decreased in numbers and closed their schools.) Eastern European communities are now arriving at a point when many of the second generation have completed their education and the first generation are passing the child-bearing age. A decline in numbers can therefore be expected in the next few years until, it seems likely, the children of second-generation parentage will start attending. In contrast, many Asian and particularly Pakistani parents have young children and are becoming increasingly aware of the cultural and linguistic pressures of the majority society on their children.

Besides confirming the great demand for mother-tongue teaching, the research also indicated the different personal and institutional resources available to different individuals and different minority populations and the different ways in which the issue is perceived and articulated. Personal contact with parents and an understanding of their difficulties in Britain helps one to realise the importance attached to the mother-tongue classes, but the relative lack of co-ordinated statements may have led many officials and administrators to believe that the demand is small. There may be several explanations for this which relate to the process of migration and the nature of the minority population in question.

Some European minorities in Britain have been established here for many years and believe that unless a deliberate attempt is made to preserve their own language they will no longer be used in future in their communities. Many have accepted by choice, or force of necessity, that they and their children will stay in this country permanently.

This is not so for some of the largest linguistic minorities in Britain who are relatively recent arrivals. In the case of Indians and Pakistanis they have come from different regions of the homeland, each with distinct cultural and linguistic heritages, and they do not, on either a national or a local scale, constitute a cohesive community. They may appear so to the majority population (who in fact can rarely differentiate a Pakistani from a Indian or Bangla Deshi) and the existence of 'leaders' of these communities seems to confirm this view. The actual degree and quality of information and representation is questionable. It is no easy job to estimate and articulate the problems and needs of a diverse population at different stages of settlement, but the difficulty is compounded by the role these leaders are expected or choose to play. There are some who really do not voice the opinions of the majority and there are others who are not only aware of them, but have decided it is their responsibility to encourage or direct certain changes. If we are to interpret the situation correctly, and give a fair hearing to all concerned, we must be aware of the more 'progressive' attitude of many of the leaders and clearly distinguish their personal opinions from the general view of the population.

Many first generation immigrants and recent arrivals to Britain have to concentrate their energies and resources on settling down, buying a house and maintaining a family. Many Pakistanis, for example, have called their wives to Britain in the last ten years, and a high percentage of their children are under school age or in primary school. The majority still talk of their stay in Britain as temporary and their values and plans are to be understood in terms of the homeland. This is one factor that may contribute to the lack of participation in certain areas of the dominant society, and lack of concerted action about long-term plans.

Many Sikh families, by contrast, have been in Britain longer, have older children and a greater number accept that they, and their children, will remain in Britain. Whether this is due to time, a greater appreciation of the influence of British society and/or a more fundamental difference between these two populations, is debatable. There are some significant differences which seem important in relation to provision of language maintenance.

In very general terms, the Sikh population in Britain is more homogeneous and less segmented than the Pakistani. Sikhs are certainly linguistically homogeneous and their religious book is written in their mother-tongue (although in an old style), whereas the Quran for Pakistanis is learnt in Arabic. But it is the greater community organisation of the Sikhs which has facilitated their establishment of mother-tongue classes. Many Sikhs, men women and children, attend the Gurdhwara service on Sundays and participate in other communal activities. Even if as many Pakistani men attend their local mosque each week, their lack of social and community organisation and participation is marked. Women do not attend the mosques, and celebrations and meetings called by local Pakistani associations are usually attended by the more educated and westernised middle-class.

Time of arrival, variety of languages and dialects, and the internal organisation of a minority population are bound to influence the appreciation and attitudes accorded to the mother-tongue, and the degree of participation in the wider society. There are other factors, however, which are external to but influence the individual's response to his situation. The relatively encapsulated Pakistani and Bangla Deshi populations in certain areas of Britain can be interpreted as a mutual segregation, resulting either from a pride and desire to maintain the cultural heritage, or as a reaction to a hostile or neutral reception from the host population. However important these two aspects might be, it is generally true to say that the majority of Asians in Britain greatly value the educational, and medical services in this country. Coupled with a certain awe of authority are traditional notions about education which explain, for example, the lack of parental participation in parent-teacher meetings. Education in India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh remains very much in the hands of authoritarian teachers, and teaching methods are formal and disciplined. Although Asian parents are perturbed by their children's accounts of schools (where they appear to play all day) they are delighted with their children's acquisition of English, and are particularly impressed if they are themselves uneducated. At home, they would not have questioned the teacher's final authority; it is not surprising that in Britain they feel they have no right to question, or even to ask what is going on.

It is for these reasons, the preoccupation with economic and social problems of daily life in Britain, orientation towards the homeland and a general concern to avoid upsetting the dominant population, that Asians in Britain are not articulating their demand for mother-tongue provision to a degree commensurate with their feelings. It is also fair to say that many parents are still unaware of the profound influence that a British education will have on their children's values and potential development. Many assume without consideration that their children are bound to maintain fluency in the mother-tongue. Others are so preoccupied and delighted with the child's acquisition of English that the significance of the mother-tongue is forgotten. And, as is the case in all communities, it is hard for parents to appreciate the wider social and educational implications of language and the pressures and force of social change. If this is so, then whose responsibility is it to enhance understanding of and suggest action to meet this un-articulated or latent need?

Advantages and disadvantages of mother-tongue schools

Several important questions have been raised in previous sections. The most obvious and serious of issues is the possibility that attendance at evening or Saturday schools over-taxes the child. The most alarming cases involve children of five and six years of age attending classes every weekday evening for two or three hours. For many Pakistani children, the mosque classes include little training in the mother-tongue or national language, but this can only add to our concern about the time and energy expended by such young children. It is inevitable that additional schooling of more than a couple of hours a week will affect the child's concentration and performance in normal school hours. Quite a lot of the mother-tongue schools hold classes on two weekday evenings or on

one weekday evening and once at the weekend. For some children, the evening classes may involve long walks or bus rides, and on winter evenings if they travel without a parent, there are added safety and traffic hazards. For this reason, and because of family outings and domestic routines, many parents do not now send their children to such schools. And some parents with children at voluntarily organised schools bemoan the lack of facilities, or the standard of teaching and would like their children to sit examinations. This may lead to the child's irregular attendance at the mother-tongue school or to additional tutoring organised in the home.

A further issue then is the quality of teaching and the methods used by tutors or school staff. Some of the teachers, and particularly those appointed by centralised institutions, are highly qualified and competent. But even well-trained Italian or Punjabi teachers are not necessarily competent to teach children who are more proficient in English than in their mother-tongue. Financial restrictions prevent some schools paying salaries and appointing qualified staff, so that they have to rely on teaching by committ[illegible]erents or the local 'priest'. These are not necessarily bad teachers but frequently use methods which conflict with the child's experience of school.

Further, linguistic and social associations of a language may prove added complications for teachers and complicate our assessment of the value of such schools. Many of the children attending mother-tongue schools in Britain speak marked dialects and are actually or nearly in the situation of learning a new tongue, and so the linguistic argument of enhanced conceptual development and literacy in the first language loses force. Because the schools take children from various homeland regions, or because they teach the standard language in a traditional way, the child may be experiencing yet another discontinuity between home and school, and the accompanying jolt in his perception of self and family.

From another point of view, acquisition of the standard language is highly desirable, particularly for those intending to seek employment in the homeland or trying to raise their status within the community in Britain. For this reason, many parents would react to an acknowledgement of dialect or in some cases the teaching of the mother-tongue. The Punjabi of West Pakistan is not so highly developed and does not have the same religious connotations as the Punjabi of the Sikhs in India. Punjabi in Pakistan is not written in Gurmukhi but in Urdu script, so literacy in Punjabi gives immediate access to the national language, which in turn opens up employment possibilities throughout the country and gives access to highly sophisticated literature and poetry. Many Punjabi-speaking Pakistanis would therefore opt for Urdu if they had the choice. The other languages of the Indian sub-continent are more clearly related to particular ethnic groups. Most Sikhs would opt for Punjabi, Bangla Deshis for Bengali, Gujaratis for Gujarati and Hindi would be chosen by those originating from the central Hindi-speaking states and by some urbanites from all over the country. It is probable that if Turkish were not offered, most Turkish Cypriots would like to learn Greek rather than any other foreign language in addition to

English.

A serious hindrance in the establishment of mother-tongue classes for children of Chinese parents results from the unusual distribution of the Chinese population in Britain, which is so scattered that, except in a couple of large cities, the number of Chinese families who live in the same area is very low.

Much detailed information is needed before being able to assess the importance and contribution of mother-tongue classes where no alternative provision exists. At present there are few teachers in mainstream schools who are aware of the linguistic structure of, and the status accorded to different languages and dialects by their speakers. There are few specialists collecting details of extra-linguistic aspects of language, monitoring language shift or analysing language switching as an indicator of primary loyalties, and public expectations. Any linguistic surveys which ignore the total social context of language use have very limited value. Any decisions about providing support for mother-tongue maintenance, or even use, in the mainstream school system (or about aiding it outside) must be based on some evidence of the communities' support and motivation amongst intended pupils. Without these fundamental elements and a positive, rather than a grudging, acceptance by the school staff, such schemes could cause more harm than good.

If any experimental or pilot programmes are established to provide better support for language maintenance, then we must be assured that parents and children are aware of the options open to them and of the educational reasons for introducing new courses. Some parents have expressed amazement that mainstream schools could be considerate about the children's mother-tongue, while others (along with sections of the population who feel particularly insecure in Britain) suspect such provision as a means to facilitate repatriation at a later date.

The disadvantages and inadequacies of present mother-tongue provision for children of our ethnic minorities are great. Proficiency in English and the attainment of British qualifications is stated as the first priority by almost all parents; however, the existence and demand for mother-tongue provision is an expression of another strongly felt need.

The reasons for the demand may be confused but they are obviously deeply felt in many communities. Despite the educational disadvantages which may be produced by the dual-school situation, the mother-tongue schools are providing an important service. They can be seen as a means of encouraging and deepening cultural identity and pride, which many educationalists are now concerned to develop. They may be attempting to provide an essential element in the full personal development of each child.

So long as the mother-tongue schools remain detached and unco-ordinated with the mainstream school system their contribution is limited. If the mother-tongue

is not accepted as a natural part and positive contribution to the school environment, the potential bilinguals, and their classmates will, by implication, understand that it is somehow inferior, and unacceptable. The psychological and emotional contribution of mother-tongue classes to the self-identity and confidence of a child is surely as important as any specific linguistic acquisition. This is the strongest argument in favour of such classes and of supporting their introduction into the mainstream curriculum. Recognition of the value of a child's mother-tongue would also help to close the gulf between home and school, felt particularly by children with a non-English mother-tongue. It could also facilitate more constructive communication with, and participation by, parents with a limited command of English.

A very different but serious issue is the degree of involvement of foreign governments in the education of children who, in increasing numbers, are British by birth. It is hard to assess whether this is desirable when we cannot judge whether they are genuinely concerned to fill a gap in educational provision in this country or whether there are other motives behind such investment. Certainly the quality of teaching and facilities provided in such supported schools (e.g. Spanish and Italian) is generally higher than that found in mother-tongue schools which are not centrally organised and have few financial resources.

Many European countries have, and are being, encouraged to develop such facilities to ensure that the children of migrant workers will not suffer when they return to their homeland. (A predominant assumption seems to be that they will, and the responsibility thus lies to some extent with the country of emigration.) From one point of view, this is seen as a necessary and enlightened addition to the education system. From another point of view it is a convenient way of smoothing repatriation when economic forces so demand. And yet a further interpretation is that the country of emigration wishes to ensure the return of its skilled labour and of foreign exchange.

As with the migrants in Britain from the EEC and other European countries (holding work permits), it is hard to assess the percentage who will eventually settle in this country. But either way should we not leave all options open to the children of migrant and immigrant workers?

The majority of Britain's bilinguals are not migrants but settlers who may choose to maintain contact with the homeland, but who are likely to establish roots here, to continue to contribute to our economy and become British citizens. We have, first, an educational responsibility to develop the full potential of all children. For non-English speaking children, this certainly does not imply ignoring their mother-tongues, however well we teach them English. Secondly, as they exist today, some mother-tongue schools—unsupervised as they are—may be detrimental rather than helpful to educational progress. Thirdly, the existence of large and small groups of foreign-language speakers within Britain constitutes a national resource linguistically, which deserves conservation. (The example of the United States in recognising and fostering their own resources of this kind is

instructive.) Fourthly, the implications of establishing an acceptable and recognised relationship between minority languages and English which is clear to all could have nothing but good effects on community relations in Britain.

Assumptions about integration or assimilation, based on a 'closed' language attitude (that only English matters in education), may no longer be adequate today. Some re-appraisal of our own educational traditions may be required by the facts of the changing ethnic as well as social composition of our population.

It would be premature to decide the answers to such questions merely by weighing the arguments and assumptions currently made. The situation is unsatisfactory and we need to consider, not only what are the best solutions educationally, but which ones are capable of being effectively implemented.

Present and future support for mother-tongue provision

In view of the educational implications of mother-tongue schools and the likelihood of their increase in number, the present lack of information about them is astounding. There are of course examples of mother-tongue classes being introduced into school and college curricula, and many examples of individual demands for them. These remain essentially lone attempts with no co-ordinated support, which do however, provide sources of information which could help our understanding of the complexities involved. There are for example 110 boys taking modern Greek at Stationers School in North London, the majority of whom are Greek Cypriots. This year ten children took 'O' level and it is planned to introduce 'A' level modern Greek. There are fifteen Sikh children taking Punjabi 'O' level at Handsworth Grammar School in Birmingham, and there is a small group of students working for 'O' level Urdu each year at Homewood Secondary School in Langley, Bucks. Other scattered examples exist of lessons provided within the curriculum, while an increasing number of technical colleges or colleges of further education are introducing 'O' and 'A' level courses in for example, Polish, Italian, Punjabi and Urdu. Bradford College is a notable example; within the last couple of years three 'O' level Urdu classes have been established with a total of 98 students and one Gujarati class has fifteen students. Classes are held twice a week from 5 to 7 p.m. and include students from other colleges and schools. In 1976 it is expected that there will be a large 'A' level class and pre- 'O' level classes, which are in great demand.

It is only in the last few years that the issue of bilingual education has attracted attention in England. (It is likely to have always existed to some extent among the minorities in question.) The interest and concern, however, has been largely restricted to a few associations. For example the National Association for Multiracial Education, in its statement of aims 1975, and the National Association for the Teaching of English, have supported the idea of bilingual education for children of Britain's ethnic minorities. But as in other such statements, and notably in the Bullock Report, *A language for life*, no-one has specified what they mean by bilingual education. The Government White Paper

Educational disadvantage and the educational needs of immigrants (1974) made no mention of bilingual education nor of immigrants' own languages.

When apparent supporters of bilingual education are asked to specify exactly what they envisage, the majority commit themselves only to language classes, usually as alternatives to other 'foreign' languages in secondary schools (e.g. French or German). Many teachers in language centres for non-English speaking five year olds or teenage arrivals from abroad support the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction. And there are some teachers who see the importance of allowing children to use their mother-tongue in the classroom and playground and for staff from these minorities to be seen to be using them. More comprehensive transitional or partial schemes for using non-English languages as media in primary or secondary schools receive less support. Teachers and administrators are very often faced with the problem of many different mother-tongues in one school. The issue administratively may thus be not one of *bi*lingualism, but *multi*lingualism. The organisation of instruction through the medium of six or seven different mother-tongues in one school is clearly impossible. One cannot therefore blame those who do not yet see a clear principle or an acceptable policy which can be followed.

Even the most staunch believers in provision for mother-tongue maintenance in the mainstream education system are trapped by the diffuse nature of the concept. It is hard to support and actively encourage any course of action when the practical and financial implications are unknown, and the possible alternatives have not been fully examined. This present blockage is perhaps understandable when our information remains so limited, but awareness of the situation and of the implications of different solutions to the problems should be increased urgently.

One reason is simply because the demand is mounting and new problems will arise if we cannot respond. We cannot afford to rely only on the judgement and opinions of self-appointed 'leaders' or 'spokesmen' of the minorities. Public opinion within the minorities must also be consulted.

Finally there is the likely possibility that, like other issues relating to ethnic minorities, the issue could become a vote-catcher, and in the end provide serious obstacles to developing educational facilities and a multi-cultural society. Without careful consideration, excursions into bilingual education could all too easily be construed as racialist or as designed to encourage cultural apartheid, separatism, and to restrict access to English. Whatever may be done must be seen to be done for good educational and social reasons, intelligible and acceptable to all concerned.

4

Derrick Sharp

Bilingualism in the schools of Wales

Almost anything one says about the language situation in Wales can be contradicted, because there is very little firm knowledge of the precise position, which is in any case constantly changing. The Census figures for 1961 and 1971 indicated a continuation of the trend for the number of Welsh speakers to diminish, though the Welsh Office noted that the decline during the ten year period was steeper than in previous years. The figures are based on self-assessment, however, and may be unreliable in detail or in certain aspects, such as that the number of monoglot Welsh speakers had increased, though there is no reason to doubt the general trend revealed. On the other hand, supporters of the Welsh language may point to some encouraging signs, particularly the success with younger age-groups in schools brought about by the steady improvements in techniques and materials for the teaching of Welsh as a second language.

For research and curriculum development one important factor is the geographic spread of Welsh speakers. The 1971 Census gave an overall 20.8 per cent Welsh speakers, but this covered a range in the counties as they were then from 75.1 per cent to 2.1 per cent. Of more relevance in schools is the proportion of Welsh first language pupils, and here lack of information and problems of determination allow only a vague total picture. In 1967 the Gittins Report[13] estimated the percentage of Welsh first language pupils as 16; this is still the most reliable figure we have, although more recent estimates are somewhat lower. These pupils are mainly in schools in the western half of Wales, in what are the predominantly Welsh-speaking rural areas, but very rarely are they in pure language situations nowadays. Although in some larger schools classes may be divided according to pupils' mother-tongue (a controversial procedure anyway), this is not possible in small primary schools, so that most classes are of mixed linguistic background, with all the language learning and teaching complications that this involves.

[13] Gittins, C E, *chairman, Primary education in Wales* (Gittins Report), HMSO, London, 1967

It is important to realise, too, that while it is a matter of choice in the vast majority of cases whether or not the English first language pupil learns Welsh, the Welsh first language pupil needs to achieve a mastery of English comparable to that of the native speaker. The increasing amount of English heard and used in the general life of the community, even in what used to be isolated areas, is a supportive factor, while at the same time it presents a threat to Welsh. A deeper understanding of what is involved may be gained by reading, for example, *Towards Bilingualism*[14] and *Bilingualism in Welsh Education.*[15]

It is possible and necessary to concentrate on the educational considerations in such a language situation, but the religious, cultural, social and political factors, which are not the immediate concern, must always be borne in mind. The logical is not always acceptable, for very good reasons. To balance this there is the advantage of examining language learning and teaching at their most complicated, involving first and second language approaches and complex community factors. Because the range of school situations is so great, language policies, methods and materials must have in-built flexibility, so that the individual teacher, on whom ultimate success depends, may choose and adapt to suit particular classroom circumstances. To do this properly, the teacher requires considerable language sophistication, a point which emphasises the importance of such in-service work as language study courses.

Since 1967, two Schools Council Research and Development Projects, based in the Department of Education, University College of Swansea, have made a contribution to our knowledge and understanding of certain aspects. The first, *Attitudes to and motivation for the learning of Welsh and English in Wales* (1967-71) was essentially a research project, the results of which have been published.[16] The second, *The teaching and learning of English in Wales, 8-13* is a little more than halfway through its life (1973-77) and is primarily a curriculum development project. What follows is a selection of points arising from the two projects, in particular some of those which have a wider interest and application than their immediate context.

The Attitudes Project

Attitudes scales and questionnaires were administered in 1969 to a stratified random sample, with the school as the sampling unit, of three age groups—fourth year junior school (ten plus), second year (twelve plus) and fourth year (fourteen plus) secondary school. The actual sample yielded 6½ per cent overall, a

[14] Dodson, C J, Price E and I T Williams, *Towards bilingualism* Vol 1 of *Welsh studies in education* University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1968.

[15] Jones, W R, *Bilingualism in Welsh education,* University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1966.

[16] Sharp, D, and others, *Attitudes to Welsh and English in the schools of Wales,* Schools Council research studies series, Macmillan/University of Wales Press, London, 1973.

total of 8,102 pupils. Attainment tests in Welsh and English were given in 1970 (during the same school year) to a sub-sample in the three age groups, a total of 2,921 pupils.

1. Patterns of attitude were as might be expected, with the most favourable attitude towards Welsh appearing in the predominantly Welsh-speaking areas and the least favourable in the highly anglicised areas. Attitude towards English showed in general the reverse trend.

   Of more importance is the fact that mean scores of attitude towards each language were modified with age. With the older pupils, attitude towards Welsh tended to become less favourable and attitude towards English tended to become more favourable. This would suggest tnat as the pupils grow older motivation for the learning of English increases, whereas motivation for Welsh studies declines, though it must be remembered that all these results indicate average trends.

2. Throughout the sample attitude towards English proved to be two-dimensional. At one level it was based on an objective assessment of English as a major world language, and here it was almost universally favourable, while at another level it was influenced by attitude towards Welsh, in which case a defensive attitude might result in an unfavourable attitude towards English.

   Language loyalty is clearly an important factor in a bilingual community. Loyalty to the Welsh language was apparent in all categories, including those representing the highly anglicised areas of Wales. It would account for the unfavourable attitude towards English revealed in the bilingual schools ('Welsh schools'—see 5 below), because language loyalty is strongest in these schools and it would also explain the tension within individuals detected in other areas of investigation and arising from conflict between the pupil's loyalty to Welsh and his realisation of the value of English. The key variable in a bilingual situation involving a major world language and a minority language is apparently attitude towards the minority language.

3. Linguistic background was the most significant source of variation of attitude towards both languages, but length of residence in Wales was the next most significant source of variation.

4. General ability (as assessed by teachers) was not a very important factor in relation to attitude, but it was the most highly significant factor in first language attainment. Attitude to the first language was much less significant, and not at all so by the age of fourteen plus. In contrast, the most significant factors in Welsh second language attainment were in general linguistic background and attitude towards Welsh.

5. In some ways the most interesting results came from the specially created bilingual schools. Most of the pupils in these schools live in highly anglicised communities and many come from English-speaking homes. Their natural linguistic background is modified by attendance at a bilingual (or Welsh) school, and it is worth noting that linguistic background is the only

variable that can be modified in this way by local policy decisions. This group of pupils revealed attitudes towards Welsh more favourable than those of pupils living in traditional Welsh areas, the Welsh second language pupils in the group achieved attainment mean scores in Welsh higher than those of Welsh first language pupils in comprehensive and modern schools (and equal to those in grammar schools), and secondary school English attainment compared favourably with that of other secondary schools.

The bilingual schools have clearly defined, though differing, language policies, covering the medium of teaching in the different areas and stages of the curriculum, and the use of the two languages in the general life of the school. The existence of mutually agreed policies of this kind is an important factor in the schools' success, which would suggest that a minority language may be deliberately fostered without detriment to the major language in the Welsh type of bilingual situation. Indeed, the naturally bilingual schools in Wales are increasingly aware of the value of a precisely defined and fully implemented language policy, and the Attitudes Project results would support further development in this direction. But a note of caution is needed, for the specially created bilingual schools, limited in number, enjoy certain favourable circumstances which may not always be present to support the language policy; for example, the pupils' very presence in these schools denotes a deliberate choice on the part of their parents, whose level of involvement and encouragement is higher than is usual even in Wales.

6. The variety in language policy and practice in the local authority areas throughout Wales was revealed in responses to questionnaires. In addition, the extent to which the language policy was implemented varied considerably. The availability of bilingual teachers trained in language work was often a crucial factor.

The English in Wales Project

As previously stated, the emphasis in this project is on the development of methods and materials to meet the needs of the teaching and learning of English in the various linguistic situations found in the schools of Wales. Special attention is being paid to the Welsh first language pupil, but his requirements must be considered in the total context of English learning and teaching throughout Wales, for at some stage he must change from school to first language approaches if he is to become fully bilingual.

During the first year of the project, a number of surveys, not rigorously conducted or analysed, were carried out with the help of the 250 teachers closely involved in the work, in order to provide a basis for the preparation of schools and materials. The surveys covered error analysis, methods of teaching English, language textbooks in use, pupils' interests and popular reading. A great deal of interesting and valuable information was gathered in this way, though it is not possible to give it here, except as it appears in or informs the points which have emerged in the work to date and which seem relevant to the present purpose.

7. Although English is a second language for the Welsh first language pupil, the use of English in the community (especially in such aspects as tourism and the mass media) provides strong reinforcement for his school development in English. In mixed language situations, the language of the playground tends to be English, for example. There is a discernible trend in Welsh-speaking communities for children to use Welsh when speaking to adults and English when speaking to their peers. Compare and contrast the situation of the immigrant child in England.

8. The surveys identified specific problems experienced by Welsh first language pupils in learning English, such as the influence of Welsh phonetic spelling on English spelling and of Welsh sentence patterns and idiom on English usage. Most pupils pass easily through this stage, but the problems do need special attention in the second and third years of the junior school and, for a minority at later stages, including the secondary school.

   Apart from such particular aspects, the principles should be the same for both English first and second language teaching and learning in this type of bilingual situation. Important aspects include:

   (a) The pupil should learn to use and respond to real language in context. He should be faced with a series of situations which make varying demands on his language skills. Language exercises, if used at all, should play a subsidiary role, to deal in the short term with particular weaknesses or the specific problems mentioned above; they should never provide the framework for his English work.

   (b) Reading material in the early stages should be related to his environment, so that he may become involved in the familiar. Most Welsh first language pupils live in the country, in small villages or on farms, whereas most textbooks understandably concentrate on life in towns and cities. There is plenty of material available to widen his horizons once his mastery of the English language at the appropriate level is firmly established.

   (c) The teacher should ensure a balanced programme of work in English, with due attention to the four aspects of listening, talking, reading and writing. The project survey indicated an imbalance in most classes, the emphasis being on the more formal aspects of reading, writing and language study, comparable to the findings of the more extensive and rigorous Bullock Report survey. It is difficult for a teacher to find enough time for all the desirable activities in both languages, especially if the pupils are of mixed linguistic background; if he is also faced in a small village primary school with four age groups from seven to eleven, the task is daunting indeed.

   (d) A wealth of materials and schemes should be available to suit the various needs of teachers and pupils in differing situations. Economic considerations then arise, as they do with classroom materials in Welsh. One aim of the project is to produce a handbook for teachers of English in Wales.

(e) The importance of mother-tongue development in general school progress must never be overlooked. In a bilingual situation there is a real danger of introducing reading and writing in the second language before they are properly established in the first, leading to confusion and, in severe cases, a pupil with 'two second languages'. There is a need to make decisions about the stages in language development on an individual basis.

9. Experience in both projects indicates the importance of knowledge and understanding of language and language learning on the part of the teacher.

It is comparatively easy to stimulate talking and writing in response to experience, including literature. It is far more difficult to know how to handle the pupils' language generated in this way, to ensure that genuine language development is being encouraged and guided in the classroom. Many teachers do not do as much oral work as they acknowledge they should because they 'feel lost' in such a lesson. Pressure on time and present financial restrictions mean that few can attend courses and conferences, but much can be done locally and inexpensively. The starting point should be a discussion of common problems in language work, an exchange of experience (especially between primary and secondary schools) and a group development of language teaching and learning policy.

10. There is no space to deal adequately with the religious, cultural, social and political complications referred to at the beginning of this paper, although it is advisable at this stage to remind the reader of their existence and inevitable impact. They are, moreover, specific to particular bilingual communities and not relevant except in principle to other situations. There is an essential duty to protect minority rights, including those language rights which so often indicate community identity.

5 Eric Evans

Bilingual education in Wales

Traditional bilingual schools

There is a long, honourable and successful tradition of bilingual education in Wales, if one thinks of the development of English as a second language among children, who before attending school had been monoglot Welsh speakers. Some would say that this process has been too successful, and has achieved its goal in respect of the acquisition of English at the expense of undermining confidence in children in their ability and willingness to continue to use their native tongue. On the other hand, it can be maintained that this is not an indictment of bilingual education, but rather of a system which failed to produce a balance between the two languages, and that excessive zeal for the promotion of English led to a neglect of Welsh. Of course, many schools have ensured that a truly bilingual education must be provided and have promoted the healthy and progressive development of both languages.

It could, of course, be argued that where schools failed to provide a bilingual education they were only reflecting the inexorable anglicisation of Wales and that as community after community gradually (though in some cases, dramatically) allowed English increasingly to dominate their social and domestic lives, so the bilingual pattern of education had to yield to a more monoglot one. Where schools pursued such policies parents usually acquiesced, even where Welsh remained the language of the home, consoling themselves with the delusion that if the schools looked after their children's English, they themselves would look after their Welsh.

Welsh schools

Where schools are faced with monoglot English speaking children Welsh is taught as a second language usually on the basis of a half-hour lesson a day. To state the matter bluntly this policy, at least until quite recently, has been a disastrous failure. Even the minority Welsh speaking elements in these second language schools frequently failed to retain their natural bilingualism and lapsed into

becoming monoglot English speakers. This has become increasingly true with the pervasive influence of television and pop culture, and the decline of church going which was the lone bastion of Welsh in the social life of the community.

An awareness of the apparent hopelessness of the position of Welsh in second language schools led to the emergence and phenomenal development of the so-called Welsh schools since the war. These schools originally catered for monoglot Welsh children; later for bilingual children; later still for monoglot English children who had one bilingual parent so that a link with Welsh could be created at home; later again for children who might be able to find a Welsh connection (e.g. grandparent) outside school.

Finally all pretence was abandoned and all children whose parents desire them to be educated at Welsh schools are now admitted where schools are available. The new education authorities in Wales, following local government reorganisation in 1974, which have so far formulated their language policies have agreed that this type of provision, Welsh schools for all children whose parents desire that type of education, shall be part of their policies.

It must be made clear at this point that while these schools are called Welsh schools they are, in fact, bilingual schools. Welsh is the main language, virtually the only language used at the infants' stage, but English is taught and used as a medium of instruction for part of the curriculum in the junior classes. Welsh, however, is the official language of the school. The Welsh schools aim at providing a bilingual education and it is maintained that the emphasis given to Welsh is necessary to counter balance the powerful factors operating in favour of English.

No school is without its problems and while the general development of bilingualism is satisfactory in these schools difficulties occur in promoting the informal and spontaneous use of Welsh in the free play of the children. No doubt many factors are involved in this, one of them being the relationship between adult and child use of language and the matter will be touched upon in a little more detail in another section.

Second language schools

Several interesting projects have from time to time been promoted to further the development of Welsh in second language schools. In Cilfyndd, Pontypridd, in the 1930's the school was organised on the basis of English as the medium of education in the mornings and Welsh in the afternoons, and considerable success was achieved. In the early 1960's several schools experimented with using Welsh as the main, and in one school as the sole medium of instruction in the final term of the junior school, i.e. after the eleven plus examination when no parental objection would be likely. Once again, very promising results were achieved. In yet another school alternate days were given to the use of the two languages. All these experiments were conducted in junior schools.

In order to exploit the potentiality of young children for language learning, a view given prominence in the 1950's, some education authorities experimented anew with introducing Welsh in infants' schools. In particular, the former Glamorgan Education Authority established a panel of experienced headteachers of infants' schools together with its language and infants' advisers to formulate a language programme. This programme emphasised the importance of utilising the learning environment of the infants' school for language acquisition and evolved a structured language programme which would arise out of the various activity corners of infant classes. It also advocated that there were roles for both teacher centred sessions and group and individual activities.

At Aberystwyth an experiment was conducted in an infants' school with researchers who pretended to be unable to speak English in order to develop a situation where the two languages would be associated with two different teachers.

All this preparatory probing culminated in the proposal for the establishment of the 'Bilingual School' which was also one of the recommendations of the Report of the Central Advisory Committee on Primary Education in Wales *(Gittins Report)*. The Schools Council established a project, 'Bilingual Education in the Primary Schools in Anglicised Areas' in 1968. This ended in 1975 but a two year project of 'After Care and Dissemination' will continue until 1977.

This project follows up and elaborates the type of programme for infants' schools prepared by the old Glamorgan Scheme, already outlined. Sixty or so activities which form the basis of work in infants' schools, together with vocabulary lists suitable for the development of these activities in Welsh, and lists of basic sentence structures have been published. Other publications have appeared, or are in the process of being published. These will deal with indoor and outdoor games, drama, hymns and services and a series of eight listening books adapted from a popular English series. Accompanying each book will be a cassette containing several versions of the story graded in respect of linguistic complexity. At the junior stage project type work is advocated.

Experience shows that this Project has gained greater acceptance in infants' schools than in junior schools. In fairness it must be added that more materials and training have been given to the infants' schools, although the present policy is to concentrate on preparing materials for junior classes. Teacher involvement is a vital factor and to this end a number of working parties centred upon the teachers' centres in various parts of Wales have been formed, and they are currently producing project work material covering various aspects of the curriculum. Two key factors have emerged very forcibly in teachers' meetings—the need for a definition of the goals to be attained at various age levels and secondly for a clearer delineation of the anticipated development in language acquisition.

Since the aim of the Project was to investigate the possibility of grafting the second language on to the proven educational activities of the school so as to

achieve simultaneously general educational and second language development, it is encouraging to discover from the report of the Research Officer who has measured the progress of children in these schools by using standardised tests in reading, mathematics, verbal and non-verbal tests that their attainment in these tests is quite as good as matched groups of children from non-Project schools. Attainment in Welsh varies considerably from school to school and it is too early yet to reach any general conclusions.

Second language teaching materials

Traditionally Welsh language courses had centred around an imaginary family and the situations and language developed accordingly. This might have had some relevance one or two generations ago when many parents were Welsh-speaking and schools could have aimed at teaching Welsh to children suitable for use with their parents.

When the National Language Unit was faced with the task of preparing courses anew the decision was taken that although parents could not be excluded the course would be geared as far as possible to child centred situations, with the aim of trying to encourage Welsh speaking among children. This posed in particular the problem of selecting appropriate language for children. For example common greetings like 'Good morning' 'How are you?' are unnatural for children to use with one another, yet perfectly suitable for adults.

Even more difficult was the choice of suitable language in which to express anger, delight and in which to taunt or sneer—common elements in children's spontaneous speech. No claim is made that a satisfactory answer was found—indeed can one be found in school situations in which teachers could not be expected to present the type of language (e.g. swearing) which a first language teacher would reject? The problem remains and presents difficulties which may well be among the reasons for the reluctance of children in bilingual schools to engage freely in Welsh in their unsupervised activities.

Another problem to be faced was to select an oral form of language rather than the literary Welsh which until the mid-1960's had been used in every language course. A standardised oral form of Welsh, known as 'Cymraeg Byw' (Living Welsh) was adopted and initially aroused considerable opposition among scholars particularly, although almost no opposition is now found among teachers themselves.

Naturally when considering the linguistic content of our courses we looked at word frequencies and the grading of structures. However in attempting to introduce these elements in situations we found that the situations made their own demands and enforced the use of some items we might have wished to defer. One particular problem therefore was to assess how far one could manipulate the situation while ensuring that it remained natural and credible. This is particularly difficult in the early stages of a course when situations have to be devised with extremely limited language content.

One major problem we were forced to consider was teacher competence and expertise in language teaching. Techniques which made too great demands on talents unlikely to be found generally among teachers were relegated to a subordinate role whereas the greatest emphasis was placed on commonplace skills. Furthermore we had to remind ourselves constantly that most of our teachers would have little if any training in linguistics, and some would have only a limited command of Welsh. The Bilingual method therefore seemed eminently suitable for use in our courses. The audio-visual aids were conceived as providing visual representation of the situations accompanied by recorded dialogues of them which would provide an illustration of the language previously presented by the teacher. The role of these aids was determined, among other considerations, by the knowledge that in some schools inadequate or unreliable facilities would be available, and therefore the courses could not afford to be over dependent upon them. A realisation of the shortage of suitably trained or qualified teachers in this field led to the recent production of a detailed teach-yourself course on tape with accompanying pamphlets for children to use themselves. These tapes can be used to assist the teacher and in extreme cases to take the place of the teacher. This course has had a remarkably warm welcome in schools.

In general everything ultimately depends upon the ability, adaptability and enthusiasm of the individual teacher. We have tried to cater in our courses for the average teacher. The daunting question remains. Is this field one for the average teacher?

6

Gerald R Morgan

Bilingual education in Wales: secondary school organisation

Historical background 1

Welsh was neither a medium of instruction nor a subject in the early years of state schooling, but it was accepted as a subject in many elementary schools and some grammar schools in the early years of this century. During the twenties and thirties it gained ground as a medium of oral instruction in some rural elementary schools, but in general all schools were anglicising influences, especially the grammar schools.

In 1939 a private school was established in Aberystwyth which used Welsh as its main medium of instruction. After the war it was taken over by the LEA, and LEA's in other areas began to establish similar primary schools, notably in Glamorgan and Flintshire. Hitherto Welsh had been left to the home, chapel and local community to foster, but this was obviously inadequate in largely English-speaking areas. These 'Welsh' (but really bilingual) junior schools gave their pupils a chance to develop both in Welsh and English, but at eleven they moved into grammar or secondary modern schools which were overwhelmingly English in language and administration, though often nurturing the more obvious forms of Welsh patriotism (Eisteddfod, Rugby, singing).

In the Welsh-speaking areas primary schools after 1945 generally promoted Welsh, but the secondary schools were carbon copies of English schools, with the simple addition of Welsh as a subject, sometimes compulsory to fifth form level, more often as an option against French or other subjects. There was no insistence that secondary school staff should be Welsh-speaking, and the general inferior status of Welsh was obvious. So great was the importance attached by the community to success in English that there was little apparent unrest as a result of this unbalanced situation. However, the changing situation in the English-speaking areas eventually led to change in the Welsh-speaking areas as well. The number of 'Welsh' primary schools, especially in Glamorgan and Flintshire, increased during the early 1950s, and in Flintshire especially the change from the Welsh atmosphere of the primary school to the inevitable anglicisation of the

secondary schools made the move even more difficult than for ordinary eleven year olds, and the work done in Welsh in the primary schools was obviously not continued, but rather undermined, by the drastic change.

It was therefore proposed that a secondary school should be established at Rhyl in 1956, to take the Welsh-speaking children of North Flintshire, who had previously gone to a number of different secondary schools. At the new school they were to be given a bilingual education.

Instruments of bilingual education

The obvious aim of bilingual education in Wales only differs in one particular from the usual aims expressed for schools—that the pupil be as fluent and as literate in Welsh and English as his or her abilities allow. There are obviously different ways of achieving this end. The method adopted in the Glan Clwyd school at Rhyl was a subject-based division. Both English and Welsh were to be compulsory subjects. Mathematics, the sciences and one or two other subjects were to be taught through English; history, geography, music and practical subjects through Welsh. There are obvious drawbacks to this system, which with modifications is the pattern of the other bilingual schools. Science in Welsh remains undeveloped, and science and mathematics teachers sometimes feel frustrated at not being able to express their enthusiasm in the same way as their colleagues. But it has the advantage of being a policy easy to explain to parents and the public, and simple to administer.

A number of criticisms were made at the start. The secondary schools which lost their Welsh-speakers complained that this loss affected the Welshness of their schools. It was argued that there were no Welsh text-books and no teachers who had taught through Welsh to 'O' and 'A' levels; that examination results might not be valid or acceptable currency; that no opportunities existed at any level of further education; that pupils would have poor English; that they would be unable to discuss Welsh-medium subjects in English; that the schools would be used to make Nationalist propaganda.

It was argued in reply that the existing schools were not able (however great their goodwill) to do anything for their Welsh-speaking children but anglicise them; that text-books would only come when the market had been created; that there were sufficient teachers able and willing to treat of their subjects in Welsh; that the WJEC was willing to validate the examinations and thus ensure their currency; that further education courses in Welsh would only come about when there was a demand from the schools; that fluency in Welsh need not detract from fluency in English; that the inevitable use of English text-books as well as wisdom on the part of the teachers would ensure bilingualism in Welsh-medium subjects; that teachers who might be members of Plaid Cymru in private were no more likely to transgress the bounds of professional integrity than any other teachers.

Historical background 2

The success of the Rhyl school (now moved to St. Asaph) led to the establishment of a school for the rest of Flintshire at Mold, then of others at Wrexham and Pont-y-Pridd. All these are anglicised areas. But during the 1960s the growing reputation of these schools, and an increasing concern for the future of the Welsh language in the Welsh-speaking areas, led to change in other secondary schools. Some schools in the Welsh-speaking areas developed what is often called the 'Welsh stream'. This is a very crude and rather misleading name for the varied response of these schools.

The schools in the Welsh-speaking areas began to be criticised for doing nothing for the Welsh language except teach it as a subject for four or five lessons a week. To be fair, these schools faced grave difficulties. Although by the 1960s it was usual to ensure a Welsh-speaking Head for such schools, there had never been a policy of appointing Welsh-speaking teachers in preference to non-Welsh speakers. Staffs nearly always ran the whole range of possibility; enthusiastic Welsh-speakers, reluctant Welsh-speakers, those with a smattering of Welsh, sympathetic monoglot English speakers, and the occasional hostile English monoglot. Hostility however could usually be more often found among the Welsh themselves. The same tended, outside North-West Wales at least, to be true of the pupils and their homes; all kinds of ability in Welsh co-existed in the same intake, and all degrees of enthusiasm, indifference or hostility. A school like Glan Clwyd, tailor-designed for the bilingual purpose, obviously found the task easy by comparison, and many Heads were either daunted by the task, or indifferent to the situation. Others responded, however, and began to offer one or more subjects through the medium of Welsh, either to children whose parents took the option, or to children chosen by the school on a linguistic basis.

Organisation in these schools varies. Children may or may not register by linguistic groups, or be in separate house-groups. Obviously a school with 90% Welsh speakers is in a different situation from a school with 30%. It is difficult to say how many schools have adopted the 'Welsh stream' approach, and it would be misleading to try, since 'Welsh streams' vary so widely in their nature.

Further recent developments

Three more bilingual schools have been established, at Ystalyfera in the Swansea valley, at Aberystwyth and Llanhari in Mid-Glamorgan. Ystalyfera was intended to serve two purposes; to take in pupils beyond reasonable travelling distance from Pont-y-pridd, and to draw in the Welsh-speaking children of the upper Swansea valley, where the language is stronger than in any area previously served by a bilingual school.

Llanhari was established because of the embarrassingly successful growth of the Rhydfelen School at Pont-y-pridd. This school's success with its first generations of pupils had an unexpected effect; the sudden increase in numbers in the 'Welsh' primary schools feeding the school. This, along with the general increase in

interest in the language which led to the spread of Welsh nursery schools especially aimed at teaching Welsh to children from anglicised homes, led to the school's explosive growth and hiving off to Llanhari. Ystalyfera too is becoming very large, and another school may be established when circumstances permit.

The Aberystwyth school was established in different circumstances. Here the Welsh-speaking children (mainly from the rural hinterland) were a declining proportion (about 33%) of the school population, which was dominated by Aberystwyth and increasingly influenced by the inrush of immigrants from England. The LEA took advantage of comprehensive re-organisation to create from the former grammar and secondary modern schools two comprehensives, one of which would be bilingual, the other English-medium. The situation here was different because the Welsh minority did not have to be scattered around a number of schools, but could have been incorporated in a single large comprehensive of about 1,600. It was argued that creating a separate school would split the community. Those who sought a separate bilingual school (perhaps on the same campus as at Mold, though this was eventually ruled out on grounds of economy) argued that other bilingual schools have been notably successful institutions, while there is no similar obvious success attached to 'Welsh streams'. They also argued that the single school would be too large, and eventually the two schools were established in 1973.

The failure of the 'Welsh-stream' argument in Aberystwyth is interesting, and perhaps inevitable in circumstances where a bilingual school is a valid alternative. A Welsh stream cannot really flourish in a school where not all the staff are Welsh-speakers, and where the dominant atmosphere is bound to be anglicised. Given parental choice, further complexities occur. Parents of children perfectly capable of bilingual success will direct them away from the Welsh stream, and in my own limited experience this tends to be especially true of above-average pupils. In a particular year-group in Llangefni, of eleven outstandingly promising pupils, six were English speakers and five Welsh. But four of the Welsh speakers were directed by their parents to the non-Welsh-medium class; the other was on his own, and staff favour and prestige naturally, if reprehensibly, were attached to the non-Welsh-medium class. My experience in Llangefni was that of a typical intake of 180, 140 were fluent in Welsh, but only 80 would be directed by their parents to the Welsh stream. The experience of the bilingual schools is that between 90-99% of Welsh-speaking pupils in the areas are directed to these schools by their parents, and there is too an increasing number of learners.

However, there are only seven bilingual secondary schools, with more planned or campaigned for at Llanelli, Carmarthen, Colwyn Bay, Bangor, and perhaps Cardiff, mid-Glamorgan and one or two others. Therefore the majority of Welsh-speaking pupils must expect to attend mixed-language schools, with Welsh streams of varying effectiveness, and the development and strengthening of these streams is vital for the success of bilingual education in Wales. This will not be achieved without a more positive policy on the part of the Education Authorities.

The Welsh learners

In Llangefni no pupils from English-speaking homes entered the Welsh-medium classes, though some of them were fluent in Welsh, thanks to the primary schools. The existing bilingual schools have, however, shown that there is a demand for bilingual education among monoglot English-speaking parents.

This first became evident in mixed-language homes. It has been a common experience in Wales for mixed-language marriages to produce monoglot English children. But such parents have been increasingly willing for their children to attend Welsh nursery schools, bilingual primary schools and bilingual secondary schools. An increasing number too of entirely non-Welsh speaking parents have taken the same attitude. Many of these are first or second generation English monoglots whose own parents or grandparents spoke Welsh; they did not have the opportunity themselves, but they feel a sense of loss, and are willing for their children to have the chance. There is also a growing number of immigrant parents sympathetic to Wales and the language, who are willing to integrate their children into the cultural life of Wales by giving them a bilingual education.

These attitudes have been responsible for the growth of the Rhydfelen school, half of whose pupils come from homes where no Welsh is spoken. The Mold school has gone a step further in admitting, under parental pressure, an increasing number of pupils who have not only grown up in non-Welsh-speaking homes but have not had the opportunity of learning Welsh at primary school.

Staffing

Staffing the bilingual schools has not been a problem at any time, as far as I know. Being new schools, with a definite aim in view, they have tended to attract young and enthusiastic teachers willing to invest their time and energy, and some schools have a high reputation for extra-curricular activities, which is not so true of the 'Welsh-stream' schools, which do not have the same advantages of aim and community. Some 'Welsh-stream' headmasters do complain of staffing difficulties, and my own impression (without research to support it) is that their difficulties in finding teachers to work through the medium of Welsh are greater than those of the heads of bilingual schools.

Public attitudes

Most of the original criticisms of the bilingual schools faded away once they were established, though the same battles are fought in each area prior to their establishment. But there is a persistent criticism that they are 'disguised grammar schools', that they are genteel, middle-class and lack the full comprehensive range of ability found in their neighbour schools.

Inevitably the sense of purpose which distinguished these from other schools, the fact that parents can choose them—no-one is obliged to go to a bilingual school—gives a sense of unity and ensures a reduction of disciplinary problems; this also

may derive from the stronger religious and community affiliations of many Welsh homes. The Welsh-speaking proletariat has disappeared from much of Flintshire and East Glamorgan, so there may be a smaller representation of certain social classes in their schools—but this is not the case in North Cardiganshire or Ystalyfera.

What I think has most favoured these schools is that they have been allowed to grow naturally, from small beginnings, like families, instead of being the instant offspring of political shotgun weddings.

Atmosphere

A visitor to a bilingual secondary school would find the official atmosphere strongly Welsh, rather than bilingual. Assemblies are in Welsh, though English readings and hymns may be used; official notices, staff meetings, timetables etc. are all in Welsh. Voluntary activities are nearly all in Welsh, though visits to English plays and use of visiting lecturers are common. In most of the schools he would hear more English than Welsh spoken between the pupils in their play, and he would realise that many of these pupils have English as their first language, and the schools are performing a holding operation, to ensure that their Welsh is sufficiently strong for them to be able to choose to use it as adults.

Visiting a Welsh-stream school might give a different impression. In the schools which have more than 70% Welsh-speaking children, he might hear far more Welsh between the pupils than in some of the bilingual schools, but would find that much of the school's administration was carried on in English. In a more dilute situation, say 30-40% Welsh-speaking pupils, he might hear very little spoken Welsh on the playground.

Penweddig School, Aberystwyth

This began in mixed circumstances in 1973, after a bitter local struggle which faded away with recognition of the *fait accompli*. Penweddig was created out of re-organisation of a grammar and a secondary modern serving Aberystwyth and North Cardiganshire. Parents of the first and second years in the grammar and secondary modern were offered the choice of sending their pupils to the bilingual school if they wished, and primary school parents were offered a choice between the two schools. The numbers in September 1973 were:

Form 3	47
Form 2	53
Form 1	67

These parents had made their choice before the appointment of Headmaster or staff. The Head was not appointed until May and staff (advertised among the existing staff of the two former schools) in late June. The bilingual school occupied a corner of the former grammar school; the English-medium school occupied the rest of the grammar school and the whole of the secondary modern under a two-year plan, at the end of which fine new accommodation was ready

on the secondary modern site for the English medium school, while the bilingual school occupied the grammar school. In September 1975 the bilingual school numbered as follows:

Form 5	48
Form 4	55
Form 3	67
Form 2	95
Form 1	100

The total average intake each year for the whole area is 280, with an apparent tendency to increase with immigration

Parents in the area sign a form giving their choice of school; they may ask the advice of the local primary schools, they may come to meetings at the two secondary schools, they may read the booklets sent out by the schools, before choosing. They are able to change their minds simply by writing to the Area Education Officer, and transfer has occurred between the schools in both directions The schools are expected to co-operate in the provision of courses where practicable; while on the same site this was easy and frequent; now it is difficult, and only one group attends the other school, for CSE music. The first major decision was on teaching organisation; the grammar and modern groups (much larger on the grammar side) had to be integrated by mixing the classes for most subjects, but keeping them in their old groups for science, French and Latin The first year of 67 had to be divided into only two groups, and these were mixed to avoid a grammar/secondary modern situation. But a Latin set was created in the first year, and a French set created when these pupils reached the second year; they were further set for Welsh, English and maths when they reached the third year.

The second major decision was taken at the end of the first year of the school's life—to offer to accept a 'learners' group' of pupils who had learned Welsh at primary school, but were from English-speaking homes. Of the 95 pupils who entered, sixteen were placed in the learners' group, and fourteen of their lessons were in this group (Welsh, history, geography, French).

Penweddig year one, 1975

100 pupils: four mixed ability classes. Remedials withdrawn for some lessons.

Each class has the same syllabus:

E_5 W_5 M_5 F_3 Mus_3 Games etc.$_4$ HGS_6 Sci_4 $Crafts_4$ Clas. St.$_1$

All the learners are in two of the classes, and they are setted against the rest of the pupils in the two classes for W, HGS and F. Crafts are in mixed rotating groups on eight week courses. English is the medium for science and mathematics, and an undertaking is given to parents that English technical terms will be taught alongside the Welsh terms in such subjects as geography.

Penweddig year two, 1975

95 pupils: three registered in four groups mixed ability classes. Remedials withdrawn for some lessons. No separate lessons for last year's learners' group.

E_5 W_5 M_5 F/EW_3 Mus_2 HGS_6 Games etc.$_3$ Sci_5 Lat/Dress/Art/R. Sci_2 Wk/Co_2 Art_2

French is taught to two sets (about 50 pupils) and extra English and Welsh (EW) to two sets (45). The Latin/Dress/Art/R. Sci option is spread over the three classes; the school chooses the Latin class (28), the rest choose from among the other subjects.

Penweddig year three, 1975

66 pupils, in two mixed ability classes, registered as three groups. Remedials withdrawn for some lessons. English, Welsh in three sets by ability; mathematics in two sets by ability. French and Latin ability sets; other subjects mixed, or by choice.

E_5 W_5 M_4 B_2 C_2 P_2 HGS_6 F/EW_3 Games etc.$_3$
Ger/Wk/Art/Co_3 Lat/R. Sci/Dress/Wk_3 Mus/Art/G.E.D./Co_2

Penweddig year four, 1975

54 pupils, registered in three groups. Two English, Welsh and maths sets. Scripture alternates weekly with careers; girls have one music lesson, boys an art lesson. Weakest pupils do remedial W,E and M.

E_5 W_5 M_5 Games etc.$_3$ Scr_1 Mus/Art_1

Five option groups of four lessons each—exam levels noted thus:

O = O only, C = CSE only, no sign indicates both possible.

Option groups:

1. Ger O/Art/Wk/Co O
2. Phys/Geog O/R. Sci C/Typing C/Mus O
3. Chem O/Scr/Gen. Sci C/Latin O/Construction C
4. Bio O/F O/Mk C/Dress C/Class. Stud. C/Geog C
5. Hist O/Hist C/G.E.D./Mus C/Construction C

The fifth form operates on a very similar pattern, but there are fewer options. The music CSE group is taught in the other secondary school, in English, and is for pupils unable to take music O in choice 2 because they wanted to follow another option. The construction course (a new mode 3) is taught in the local FE college—English medium. Metalwork is also taught in the college to the fourth and fifth year CSE groups, Welsh medium, GED is English medium. Rural science is Welsh medium.

Staffing

Obviously the above pattern is conditioned by the nature of the staff, and the theories or quirks of the Headmaster. There are twenty full-time teachers, giving a ratio of one to eighteen almost exactly, but this is ameliorated by two part-timers who work a combined total of four days a week, and the use of the FE college. Latin can be carried because the Deputy Head is a classicist; German because the second English teacher has a joint honours degree. Maths and science are under some strain in the system outlined above. There is no difficulty in recruiting staff, indeed it is a pleasure, but the constraints of the LEA are an inhibition, and there is likely to be some difficulty in making proper sixth form provision; at least 30 of the 47 fifth formers are likely to return in 1976.

The Head's ideals include mixed ability and the provision as far as possible of an individualised timetable. Rural science reflects the locality. He values music highly, and the school has a startling amount of musical activity, thanks to the staff and the LEA. He rates extra-curricular activity very highly, and it is impossible to get a job at the school without a commitment in this direction! It is worth listing the members of staff by numbers and subjects and extra-curricular contributions:

1.	Head (Teaches some English)	Chess, badminton, drama
2.	D/H Latin, Class. Studs.	Fishing club, cricket
3.	S/M Welsh	Welsh Soc., penillion singing
4.	English	Scoop club, beekeeping
5.	English/German	Theatre visits, German club
6.	Remedial	Rugby, drama
7.	French	Stamps, French club
8.	Scripture and junior history	Morning assemblies
9.	History (junior geography)	Library
10.	Geography and history	Careers, badminton
11.	Art	Art club, soccer
12.	Mathematics	Christian group, soccer
13.	Physics and maths	Drama
14.	Chemistry and rural science	Garden
15.	Biology	Nature club, badminton
16.	Music and Welsh	Orchestra, choir, penillion singing
17.	Welsh	Recitation, Welsh Soc., quiz groups
18.	Boys' P E/Welsh	Boys' games
19.	Girls' P E/Remedial	Girls' games, music
20.	Boys' crafts	Cross country, nature club, fishing
21.	Girls' crafts	Sewing club.

Pastoral care

Pastoral care works on a simple basis. Every teacher has a register (music and art share one; the others have one each except for D/H and S/M). Only one group is

larger than 25; some are only sixteen to eighteen. Subject teachers or duty teachers refer difficulties in the first place to the form teacher, who prepares a special report (which will be shown to parents) if the need arises, or consult the deputies or Head according to the nature of the problem.

Parents

Parents are positive towards the school; it was their struggle that established it. The PTA (which is open to all friends of the school, parents or not) has vigorous support, and is very generous. Parents are encouraged to phone or call at the school, and to write comments on the school reports. 97% of these are highly flattering.

7 Eunice B Beaumont

Bilingualism in Bradford

This paper is a synthesis of views expressed by the advisory staff, the heads of language centres and representatives of Asian teachers[17] employed in the Immigrant Education Service in Bradford. It is based upon the assumption that most children of minority ethnic groups in Bradford schools are already bilingual and in many cases are multilingual.[18] The issues arising from this are numerous but the immediately relevant question seems to be: should bilingualism be fostered as a conscious policy in schools, or should the policy be to promote monolingualism?

If the former, then in what way can the LEA operate the project? If the latter, then which of two policies open to the authority is to be chosen: either, English as the medium of instruction to be cultivated to the total neglect of the child's mother-tongue, or conversely, the child's mother-tongue be cultivated as a tool of learning and communication, at the expense of learning English, the language of the host community? At present, the bilingualism of the child is disregarded and the official policy of most schools is monolingual, partly from a lack of insight into what is a relatively new problem, but more importantly, because the administration of a bilingual policy is fraught with difficulties.

Heads and Asian teachers were unanimous that English should be the prime medium for teaching and learning at all stages, and especially in the initial stage. It was felt that the disadvantage experienced by many children of minority groups could only be accentuated by their acquiring early, imperfect forms which often were unserviceable in the learning process.

> "Time is our enemy" said one Head. "They cannot, on one hand complain about the increasing gap in ability levels as the child proceeds through school, and, at the same time, advocate our using valuable time in teaching any other language than English."

[17] By far the largest minority group in Bradford schools is of Asian origin, (i.e. from India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh).

[18] See p. 73.

Teaching indeed seems to be the operative word, for it seems that for the majority of children whose parents originated from peasant, rural communities in Asia, it would be a matter of teaching the first language as consciously as one would have to teach English, as, in the opinion of most Asian teachers, the home language would probably be unsuited to the complex conceptual thought and manipulation needed for educational purposes.

It was also pointed out that in some cases there was no written form of the mother-tongue, and that, in order to be literate, a child would have to learn a different language, which, although it might have certain structural similarities was not strictly speaking the child's first language. It was suggested that in such cases it would be preferable to teach the child English rather than burden him with a language which was 'foreign' to him.

Some teachers went further in their insistence that English should be the medium for education for all ethnic groups in Britain and hypothesised that indeed this would be the wish of most parents—educated or uneducated. English was highly prized in their countries of origin and they would not wish their children to be deprived of a traditional 'English' education. Extreme cases were reported of Asian parents complaining to the Head of the fact that their child was being taught by Asian teachers and, whilst these isolated instances may be the result of individual prejudices or of parents acting in the service of values which are no longer serviceable, they cannot be ignored.

If the general tone of this paper so far has indicated a policy of undervaluing the child's mother-tongue, let it be stated quite clearly that nothing is further from its intention. There is a broad consensus of opinion that the languages of all minority groups, and especially of immigrant minority groups, should be nurtured, recognised by the education authorities and, at some time, given academic respectability. Perhaps then, at this stage, it would be profitable to look at the reasons, sociological and psychological, for fostering the mother-tongue, if it is not seen as a prime medium of education in school.

Firstly, much discussion and speculation has taken place as to whether or not immigrants intend to stay permanently in Britain and adopt it as the home for their descendants. Obviously, if an immigrant's intentions are to return to his country of origin, he cannot let his mother-tongue die out, and it is incumbent upon him to see that his children too are proficient speakers of it.

Our panel of Asian teachers did not see this as a likely pattern of events. Fewer and fewer immigrants were returning permanently to their countries of origin even though many still expressed a desire to do so. More importantly, they thought the lack of language in the second generation would seriously impede return holiday visits and eventually disrupt extended families. A major consideration too, was the need for prospective brides and grooms to be able to speak the language of their future partners and families.

Apart from all questions of returning to a homeland however, in the opinion of

many Asian teachers, the child's lack of fluency in his parents' first language caused serious discontinuities within households in Britain and could be a contributing factor to the increasing conflict between traditional immigrant families and their more western-orientated children. Questions of self-identity are closely associated with language and the lack of a satisfactory self-concept in some immigrant children has been identified by research workers. The authority, by various policies, seeks to encourage positive self-concepts in minority groups and positive support for their languages is seen as a way in which it can be achieved.

When then does the process of bilingualism begin? It was pointed out that from a study of the history of any immigrant people, it could be seen that dominance by the host community was inevitable, and no matter how the immigrant swam against the tide he was eventually swept along with it. So, even in the most Asian of Asian homes, the child, from a very early age was being assailed by the host culture and learning to word the world differently from his parents.[19]

The questions we, as teachers and administrators, must ask however is whether or not it is possible to capitalise upon this, and by conscious effort, make the child bilingual from birth, so that he can effectively switch codes at will as does the educated adult bilingual. One teacher-social worker, who is a mother, reported that she found it impossible in everyday situations. Whenever new vocabulary or a new concept had to be introduced she was forced into the unnatural situation of explaining in both languages. Finally, she abandoned her native language in the hope of giving the child a firm foundation for learning in the British educational system and has regretted the decision ever since, because she feels she missed the emotional relationships which would have been more developed had she used her own first language.

Indeed, the emotional effect on the young child of spending a third of his day in one culture speaking one language, and the other two thirds in another is not to be dismissed lightly. Nevertheless it was suggested by one Asian teacher who has made a detailed study of bilingualism, that such an occurrence could have happened even if the child had stayed within his parents' country of origin. It seems that bilingualism and multilingualism are patterns of life which the insular Briton has yet to learn about.

If then it is accepted that bilingualism, not only is unavoidable, but is also desirable at some stage of emotional development, how can it be institutionalised and become part of British educational practice? Existing provision for bilingualism within the organisation of education in the Bradford Metropolitan District is described below.

Initial provision: pre-school, primary, first schools and all language centres

Within language centres where there are Asian members of staff, the mother-

[19] TV alone plays a considerable part in the minority child's socialisation.

tongue of the parents is used in home/school relationships. However though notices from school to home are sent out in English and in Asian languages, many Heads expressed the view that, because many parents were illiterate in their own language, an interpreter was still needed and, in general, they felt that letters in English proved equally if not more effective.

However, both teachers and Heads felt that the child's own language was invaluable in emergencies and in sorting out emotional problems. Nevertheless, beyond the confines of social and emotional value, the mother-tongue was not envisaged as playing a decisive role in the young child's formal education: a view in contrast to the theories of many linguists and educationists who see its cultivation as being most pertinent at this stage of the child's education.

This is not to say, however, that the language is devalued or that the young child is discouraged from using his mother-tongue. One area which the advisory staff had seen as a useful take-off point was the introduction of stories, based on, and taken from, the immigrants' own cultures. Attempts have been made over the past two years to collect together suitable stories and rhymes and to tell these to the children in their own language and dialects. Surprisingly enough this has been satisfying neither to children nor staff. Nevertheless, work is still continuing and further details should be available in the near future.

A more successful venture has been the authority's attempt to help mono-lingual Asian mothers to become bilingual and learn some English. Mothers' clubs flourish within the infant centres and the home tutoring scheme is well established under the direction of two full time organisers.

Equally successful is the provision of Urdu classes for English teachers and teacher social workers who work with large groups of Muslim children. Indeed, how far bilingualism is a *two-way process* between host and immigrant communities should perhaps be considered.

Secondary provision: middle and senior schools

At present, little or no attempt is made to incorporate the child's own language into the curriculum. However in the opinion of many Asian teachers, it is at this stage that the mother-tongue can profitably be introduced into the formal work of the school, as pupils together with parents are now given the option of choosing subjects from within prescribed categories. Many Asians feel that the choice to study their own language in preference to a foreign language (usually French or German) would be acceptable and administratively feasible. Moreover this could then be offered as an examination subject at CSE and GCE levels.

Administratively, however, the authority is faced with the difficult decision as to which language or languages to introduce. India and Pakistan are geographically vast and linguistically complex, and, what may on the surface seem a relatively simple policy decision has implications which one cannot afford to ignore. A list of the different spoken languages used by the families of our Asian pupils is

given below. The difficulty of matching them to universally accepted written scripts is formidable.

This may be a difficulty which can be overcome. But a more profound problem involving a fundamental principle of education is which of these numerous languages does one select as the chosen few to be part of the curriculum, as clearly it is impossible administratively to include them all? Education is concerned with equality of access for all: if the authority attempts to meet the requirements of the most numerous or the most vociferous, who is to champion the lesser minority group?

Languages, in addition to English, spoken by children in Bradford schools

Category 1	*Category 2*	*Category 3*	*Category 4*
Byelorussian	Punjabi	Creole and	Chinese
Estonian	Urdu	other West	Malay
Hungarian	Bengali	Indian variants	Persian
Italian	Gujarati	of English	
Serbo-Croat	Pushto		
Latvian	Hindi		
Lithuanian			
Polish			
Ukrainian			
Greek			
Turkish			

It is impossible to give accurate numbers of children in each group; however, the following statistics are of interest in that they indicate rough proportions in relation to the total school population. The figures apply to City of Bradford schools before reorganisation. Total number of children on roll 58,378.

Category 1

At least 1,000 children of eastern European origin attend classes organised by their own groups and held out of school hours.

Category 2

Numbers of Asian children in school (November 1974)

Pakistan and Bangla Deshi	4,150
Indian	2,647
African Asian	375

Category 3

West Indian	1,473

Category 4

Other Asian	134

8

R D Chapman

Bilingualism in Birmingham

In the late 1950s when non-English speaking immigrants began to settle in Birmingham in significant numbers, this authority, in common with most others in Britain, saw the urgent and prime need of the children entering our schools as that of requiring English as quickly as possible in order to continue their interrupted education.

In Birmingham this same policy still obtains today, with a well developed organisation and system geared to English language teaching. Children newly arriving from overseas (currently 120-150 a month) are first interviewed by a Registration Officer, with an interpreter to hand, for documentation, medically examined, then, if of primary school age admitted to their local school to be taught English, in small groups by a visiting E2 teacher.

Children of secondary age go to a centre for a period of up to three terms to be taught English through a variety of secondary school subjects, to transfer to a secondary school where second stage language work is continued with an E2 specialist. Many children receive help to take the CSE Use of English for immigrants paper which was established in 1967.

For those children entering our education system late in their school life, a rapid introduction to English seems appropriate if they are to stand any chances of success in the competition of examinations and future employment, for these are seen as the end products of education and desired by parents of these late arrivers.

A pattern has emerged which indicates that the educationally successful children are encouraged to take employment outside their community (to a lesser extent with Muslim girls). Those children who are less able/less fluent in English are often found jobs within their community. The difficulty is that this self-generated source of employment is almost exhausted and the present prospects of the less able late arriver are not bright.

Although bilingualism officially is neither encouraged nor discouraged, some contact in the children's mother-tongue is made. Asian members of staff, both peripatetic and centre-based, are able to help children to adjust socially and emotionally to new and often bewildering situations. Contact with parents is valuable but often needs to be oral rather than written as many parents are illiterate.

The attitude of parents of late arrivers to any disruption in English teaching is well illustrated by recent experience in setting up Punjabi teaching for some children in one of our secondary Reception Centres, under the Council of Europe Scheme.[20] Anxious to ensure full co-operation, parents were duly informed of the project and of the fact that their children would be receiving some lessons in Punjabi. The reaction was an objection by a number of parents, all of whom suggested that as their children already spoke Punjabi, their education in English was most important. However, accommodation difficulties caused the venue of the project to be changed, and Punjabi teaching started without prior notification to parents. No serious objections have been raised, although some pupils reported that their parents have said time is being wasted learning Punjabi when this time could be spent learning English!

Although parents may object to any deviation from English teaching at this stage, some are prepared to add to their children's difficulties by sending them to mosque evening classes for instruction in yet a third language, Arabic.

For children well established in education here, parents seem pleased for mother-tongue teaching to take place. A few schools in the city have for several years enabled children to prepare for 'O' levels in Urdu or Bengali. At present only three schools are involved, two teaching Urdu and one Bengali. The school offering Bengali receives pupils from two neighbouring schools. Parents feel that an extra paper qualification is helpful and that an Asian language is more appropriate for their children than other modern languages.

These classes generally have started through the interest and enthusiasm of Asian teachers who happened to be on the staff of the school and not as a result of any policy by the LEA.

There are various other activities taking place where the mother-tongue is used. For example, a flourishing Asian drama group presents plays in both English and Punjabi, and choirs from several schools present Asian songs.

Parents of children born here, or brought over at an early age appear to have an ambivalent attitude towards mother-tongue teaching and learning. Most are anxious for their children to start school as early as possible to ensure a good start in English. This may be partly due to the fact that in India, education in

[20] A scheme, financed by the Council of Europe, to set up special experimental classes to assist children of migrant workers to integrate into the host country's educational system while preserving their mother-tongue and culture.

English-medium schools is considered prestigious and much sought after in certain sections of the community.

When children have started learning English, and in some cases where communication between the children in a family can take place in English to the exclusion of the parents, the adults fear that children are in danger of losing their mother-tongue, and the demand for mother-tongue teaching arises.

There are at present some six centres established by the Punjabi community where classes are held evenings and weekends, with some children attending daily from 5 p.m.–7 p.m. Other communities in Birmingham also attempt to ensure the continuation of their language through similar classes. There are flourishing groups for the Polish, Greek, and Italian communities.

It is difficult to gauge the extent of language alienation, which appears in some cases to be considerable. There is the case of Ranjit aged nine, in a remand home for stealing. Each time he was sent home, he stole again with the declared intention of returning to the remand home which he said he liked! He refused to communicate with a Punjabi interpreter saying that he didn't like that language, and pretended only to understand English even though his command of English was inadequate.

Ranjit was the youngest of four children all of whom spoke English. The two elder boys sixteen and fourteen, born in India and educated here for four years, have a reasonably good command of English whilst Ranjit and his sister aged ten have not done so well. The father and mother spoke no English and appeared quite incapable of understanding or coping with their family. Ranjit's case highlights the danger of double half-lingualism with children starting to learn a second language before achieving fluency in their first language.

This poses certain questions:

> In terms of concept development how vital is language?
>
> Would it be preferable for L1 to be used perhaps until most concepts have been formed?
>
> Would nursery education in the mother-tongue be preferable?
>
> What is the optimum age for starting to teach L2?

The following case history of Amman K., who came to this country at the age of seven in 1960, seems to illustrate the advantage of having L1 firmly established before starting L2.

Amman quickly learned English and was able eventually to gain several 'O' levels and follow a technical education. He now has a very responsible job as draughtsman/designer with a machine-tool company. He is a fluent English speaker with a fairly pronounced Birmingham accent, and is keen to talk about the language situation in his family. He speaks Punjabi but is not literate in that

language. This fact does not seem to worry him or his parents, who speak no English and are not literate in their language. They did not see his keenness to speak English as any challenge as he already was fluent in Punjabi. Amman sums up his language situation in a recorded interview thus:

> 'I can speak English to anyone, go anywhere and do anything I want. I can speak Punjabi to my family and if I need to send a letter in Punjabi, and that's not often, my wife can write for me. No, I don't worry that I can't write—my mum and dad are here. Our life and future is in this country. I suppose if I wanted to I could learn to read Punjabi but I am too busy studying to get on better in my job.'

It would be interesting to follow up the eventual language pattern followed by his son, now six months old, born into a linguistically divided household.

These case histories reveal some of the underlying problems facing children learning a second language, and surely point out the need for a great deal of further research. The fact that in India under the recently introduced three language rule, designed to develop Hindi as a national language, most children attending school may be involved in two or three languages, does not present a parallel situation, as children there return each day to the predominant language with L2 and L3 rarely encountered out of school.

Any official policy on bilingual education needs to be based on the realities of local situations e.g. the number of languages involved (we have eighteen in one of our centres); the availability of suitable teachers; requirements of school organisation; parental wishes; and, inevitably, on the finance available.

9

C J Dodson

Foreign language teaching and bilingualism

Since the end of World War II there has been a large number of fundamental changes in foreign language teaching. We have seen the introduction of audio-visual aids and the language laboratory combined with a shift away from indirect grammatical approaches to direct techniques which have as their main aim the development of the learner's capacity to communicate and to cope in the environment of his target language. These changes were aided by the vast amount of work done on the frequency and relevance of vocabulary and situations, on the structuring of language, the examining of pupils and, it was hoped, by the introduction of foreign teaching in the primary school.

Even some ten years ago teachers' enthusiasm was great in the belief that the major hurdles had been cleared and that it would now be possible to motivate pupils to such an extent as to allow them to reach a level of competence considered worthy of all the effort, time and money spent. Some teachers even believed that with the aid of machines and the new insights into linguistics the task of teaching a foreign language would become easier. Yet at the present time, despite all these changes, many feel disappointed about the levels reached. The results achieved with expensive equipment and materials do not seem to be as good as could have been expected, whilst the frustrations involved in keeping a class interested in learning have not been reduced as greatly as was thought feasible, leading some teachers to reject not only the language laboratory but even aspects of audio-visual teaching as outlined by manufacturers and their language specialists.

In this paper an attempt will be made to find possible reasons for the shortcomings of what seem worthwhile progressive techniques and aims, and to analyse whether a re-orientation of aims towards the concept of bilingualism and bilingual education might help to overcome some of our difficulties in foreign language teaching in predominantly monolingual countries.

The answer to a pupil's question, 'Why should I learn a foreign language?' is usually that he will probably find himself at some time or other in a situation

where he will need to be able to use the foreign language to help himself and/or his country. The instances quoted when such a need arises range from foreign holidays or school trips, whilst still at school, to taking up employment or selling and buying goods abroad or being able to read foreign newspapers and books at some later stage in his life. Another answer to the question is that he must pass internal and especially external examinations if he wishes to advance in life after he has left school.

All these types of answer have one element in common, namely that the pupil cannot be placed in a situation where he can satisfy an *immediate* desire or need to execute any of the above activities with the aid of the foreign language, but that he is on most occasions faced with medium-term and long-term aims which are notoriously bad motivators. Teachers are also influenced by these aims because it is their task not merely to develop their pupils' ability to communicate in the foreign language but also to help them pass their future examinations. For both these reasons teachers endeavour to create a classroom situation in which pupils can 'learn' and it is hoped 'use' the language in order to face the coming challenges effectively. Unfortunately many teachers usually stop short at the situation where their pupils can 'make use of' the language in order to solve the problems of an immediate challenge or to satisfy the needs of an immediate stimulation divorced from language. It is suggested that this distinction between on the one hand 'learn and use' and on the other 'make use of' the language is a crucial one and that ignorance or neglect of the latter is one of the reasons why we are still faced with difficulties in foreign language teaching and learning.

Teachers are aware of the fact that pupils' long-term and medium-term needs are not very satisfactory in stimulating learners, and for this reason many of them have brought activity work and simulated situations into their classroom procedures. Yet what has remained is the teacher's purpose and aim, determined by the above reasons which he considers so important for justifying the learning of a foreign language. Consequently the language itself has become the ultimate *target* of the learning process and is viewed as such by teachers and pupils alike. In this environment, whether activity work takes place or not, language is not a tool to be used in the process of communicating about something which is *not* language.

In other words teachers demand from their pupils stimuli and/or responses (spoken or written) mainly to establish a) whether the pupil can produce a foreign language stimulus and/or response and b) whether the stimulus and/or response is a correct one, whilst the pupil's motivation is confined to showing the teacher (or his fellow pupils) that he can in fact make a correct stimulus or response in the foreign language. This, however, is a weak motivator for the majority of pupils and cannot be sustained for periods stretching over years.

It is in this respect that we can learn from a bilingual situation. In a bilingual country the child who learns a second language outside and/or inside school on most occasions is able to view his second language as a tool in order to meet the immediate needs of something other than those of language itself, whether it be

in the execution of an activity, resolving uncertainty, satisfying curiosity or in the acquisition of knowledge. (It should be pointed out that even when apparently learning two languages simultaneously, the child always has a preferred and a second language, though the status of these languages might be interchanged from time to time depending on the learner's range of experience. Bilingualism should not be confused with equilingualism which, it is suggested, very few individuals, if any, possess no matter how long they have lived in a bilingual country.)

It is this process of 'making use of' a language, where language and the learning of language has become secondary to the primary aim of dealing with the world around us, that enhances the total language-learning process. It is felt that this stage is still being neglected in foreign-language learning, and that our emphasis on encouraging pupils merely to 'use' the language has tended to focus their attention on language itself rather than on dealing with the problems, uncertainties, unpredictabilities and pleasures in the acquisition of interesting knowledge and/or the execution of activities which really satisfy the learners' needs and where language is merely a vehicle. It is for this reason that bilingual education programmes in Wales and other bilingual countries are based on the philosophy that the second-language learning *process* should be welded to the curricular, extra-curricular and social aspects of the learner's world so that in the final phases of the learning steps for any topic or unit during any lesson cycle, even at the beginning of a course, the content of the lesson can be lifted from communication level 1, where the message is still the medium despite the fact that the pupils are 'using' language, to communication level 2, where language is 'made use of' to help the learner to satisfy his immediate needs in the process of living.

It is pertinent to note that the successful teachers taking part in bilingual education programmes are those who at the appropriate stages try to lift their teaching to level 2. An observer during these sessions is soon engrossed in the activities and material content on which the pupils' interest is focused and where language is considered as a means rather than an end. It would be wrong, however, to give the impression that the class and the teacher are constantly working at level 2. This level cannot be reached without a good deal of practice at level 1 and in other preliminary steps, where language is the prime target. But even here teachers and pupils will attempt to raise themselves onto a level where language is placed into its proper perspective, a level where language really begins to 'stick'. A simple and well-known example of this is what takes place in a normal oral lesson where answers to traditional questions are being learnt and practised, e.g. "How old are you?" As soon as one of the pupils re-directs this question towards the teacher in order to satisfy his curiosity, the classroom procedure has at the moment been lifted from level 1 to 2. The difference between communication levels 1 and 2, so often blurred by theorists and teachers alike, can also be found in role-playing. Role-taking is part of level 1 whilst the various phases of role-making (substitution of concepts relating to vocabulary, sentence elements, clauses and situations) progressively move pupils into level 2, where verbal, paralinguistic and non-verbal behaviour becomes a means for the pupils to satisfy

their immediate needs in the execution of a total activity.[21] It is also worth noting that linguistic errors made at level 2 are the only true indicators of whether a pupil has reached an automatic linguistic reaction or not. Teachers can easily be deceived by a pupil's fluent and accurate use of language at level 1 when his mind is focused solely on his utterances which, when spoken at level 2, can become distorted by the distractions of the communicative event.

Level 2 should be reached for in every topic or unit and not considered as something to be attained in a few months or years. Making proper use of language has little to do with the range of language acquired at any given time but a great deal to do with the prior ability to manipulate language, no matter how small the range. It cannot be emphasised too much, and should even be taken as a warning, that pupils cannot be thrown headlong into level 2 and be expected to learn how to cope with the situation in this environment. Not a single school, which can be classified as a successful school in a bilingual education programme, omits this vital preparatory work, where pupils receive ample practice in the manipulation of language within a situational framework and where pupils' minds are focused mainly on language. Yet it should be pointed out that even in this preliminary work teacher and pupils often lift themselves into level 2 for short periods, as described previously in the example of a pupil asking the teacher's age. Nevertheless we should accept the necessity for such preliminary work and be very careful about what we mean by such ideas as the 'language bath' and 'immediate and total immersion'.

An analysis of the child's language–learning process in a bilingual situation, even when learning two languages simultaneously from birth, might throw some light on the problem. It has already been mentioned that such a child will have a preferred and a second language. A more detailed and accurate description of this phenomenon would be to define the preferred language as the language in which a particular aspect of the world is explored by the child for the first time and where this language has become fused into the total experience (mental, physical, emotional, etc.) of the child in relation to that aspect. This region of experience will by the very nature of the bilingual situation be repeated and re-lived in the other or second language, hours, days or perhaps even weeks or months after the initial exposure by which time the child has already fused its preferred or first language into that particular series of events. It is important to stress that as soon as the child begins to apply his other or second language to an aspect already explored, he will use his preferred or first language, which is part and parcel of this experience, as a point of reference in his endeavour to master the situation in his second language.

A language thus becomes a preferred language if a) the child is able to cope with more aspects of his world in this language and with fewer aspects in the other

[21] Butzkamm, W, and C J Dodson, *Communicative competence: from theory to practice* (to be published).

language and b) the child feels more 'at home' on a greater number of occasions in one language rather than in the other for those aspects in which he makes use of both languages. Should any new exploration and general development occur in what to all intents and purposes is the second language, then the second language becomes the preferred language for that range of new experience. Hence bilingualism means the development of an unevenly distributed system of two languages one of which at any given time in any given area of experience is the preferred language whilst the other is the second language. In addition, an unequal number of preferred and second-language contacts within an area of experience can transform a hitherto second language block into a preferred language block. Consequently a child developing in a bilingual situation will generally operate at both preferred and second-language levels, though in small areas of experience it may reach an equilingual state for a very short period of time before one or the other language becomes dominant again.

If in the process of becoming bilingual the child in almost every instance has a second language no matter which of the two languages it is at any given time for any range of experience, the crucial point to observe is that he learns his second language areas differently from the way he learnt his equivalent preferred or first language areas, though both languages relate to the same or common range of experience, simply because he uses his already existing preferred language area as a point of reference. Foreign-language learning is similar to this type of second-language learning rather than to preferred or first-language learning.

The bilingual child when using his second language, constantly attempts to reach communication level 2 because only here is he able to enjoy fully that which he wants to enjoy, namely the full participation in a play activity. The less able he is to make use of his second language, the more this inability interferes with his pleasures because he cannot satisfy his immediate needs in the satisfactory execution of his activity. During this stage of development in any given area of experience the child's mind is focused on both language and activity, but his desire is to reduce, step by step, the importance of language, though he may never reach a preferred-language level for that activity in which another child, making use of his preferred language, is no longer aware of language.

In trying to improve his proficiency in his second language (in order to do something else as soon as possible), the second-language learner will take a number of short cuts to achieve his aims. If he is unable to acquire the meaning of a word or phrase, he will ask the other bilingual child or children for that meaning. If, for one reason or another, the other children are monolingual and do not know his preferred language, he will wait until an opportunity arises to ask the meaning of the sound chains he could not recognise. He will probably ask his parents as soon as he gets home. Preferred-language children have been observed giving the second-language child the meaning of words without initial prompting. Also in a domestic situation where one parent deliberately speaks to a young child in one language whilst the other at all times uses the other language in order to help the child become bilingual, the child will ask the appropriate parent for

the meaning of words and phrases he could not understand in his dealings with the other parent.

Another short cut is where the child imitates and repeats the second-language sound chains when he is playing by himself. It seems that the actual activity with other children or adults does not allow the child a large enough number of speaking and listening contacts to consolidate the language sufficiently for him to reach communication level 2. The writer has even heard reception-class children, learning Welsh as a second language, practise some Welsh-sounding gibberish whilst sitting alone in a corner, no doubt to master Welsh intonation patterns.

A further short cut is where the child compares and contrasts his second language with his preferred language in order both to separate the two languages and, paradoxically, to throw a bridge across both systems. The child often practises both versions one after the other during the activity or when alone after the event. The separation process helps him to distinguish between the two phonological systems, especially if certain words are similar though not the same in both systems. This process should not be confused with the totally different problem of general interference between two languages in a bilingual country. In certain parts of Wales, for instance, the predominance of Welsh has a detrimental effect on bilingual children's English. These interference errors cannot be attributed to the fact that the child learnt both Welsh and English when very young, but rather to the fact that the type of English spoken by the community already includes these errors and were imitated by the child when learning English as a second language. This is demonstrated in areas where Welsh-English speaking children make the same errors and have the same pronunciation patterns as monolingual English-speaking children. In the same manner bilingual Welsh-English speaking children from homes and districts where these errors are not heard do not develop these errors when speaking English. It is suggested that contrastive exercises of spoken units using the two languages, as practised by the young second-language learner, might help to eliminate errors which the older bilingual speaker has developed through imitation at an earlier stage.

The child throws a bridge across both systems by making comparisons between the languages in relation to the events to which they belong in order to help him switch rapidly from one language to the other whenever appropriate and necessary. This language-learning behaviour is vital if the child wishes to participate fully in the various activities in which one or the other of the languages might be used on different occasions. Thus the second-language learner hears both languages side by side and at some stage for any activity practises his second language in relation to his preferred language in terms of the sound chains perceived and the concepts expressed in order to keep the two pronunciation and intonation systems consciously apart and to reduce any inhibitions he might feel in switching from one language to the other.

It is during this 'practising' that the second-language learner also permutates vocabulary and sentence elements as well as extends and adds together clauses.

He does this because he 'knows' he does so in his preferred language when operating at communication level 2 during play activities. For example, permutation work is involved when the young second-language learner, whilst playing with a series of toys, says to himself or turns to a bystander with, "That's mine—that's Daddy's—that's Mummy's, etc." and the whole activity becomes a sort of language game.

The bilingual child in trying to raise the proficiency level of his second language thus follows a series of steps in order to be able to participate fully in group activities at communication level 2 as soon as possible:

1. If not already offered, he will ask for the preferred-language meaning of words and phrases he cannot understand or about which he is uncertain.
2. He will repeat to himself or, if acceptable to other children, within a group, words and phrases which he has heard in the second language.
3. He will compare and contrast utterances with equivalent meanings taken from his preferred and second language.
4. He will manipulate language by permutating sentence elements in his second language, at times speaking both language versions one after the other or speaking the second-language version after having heard an equivalent preferred-language version.
5. All the preliminary items always occur in what to the child is a situational framework, whether in the child's imagination or in the real world, and not in isolation even though the child's mind may be focused in varying degrees on the second language rather than fully on the situation itself.
6. He will constantly aim to reach communication level 2, which he would find impossible to reach without these preliminary steps.

This broad analysis of the development of a bilingual child's second language which he is trying to raise to preferred language status in a variety of situations is applicable not merely to a child beginning to learn a second language at infant and primary school levels but also to the foreign language learner, no matter whether he begins his foreign language learning at primary or secondary school, or even as an adult in the foreign country itself.

It is felt that the foreign language learning process in schools would be enhanced if teachers constantly kept in mind the learners' desire to reach communication level 2 by structuring classroom procedures in such a way as to allow pupils to pass through all the preliminary steps for any unit, and this in a pleasurable context, so as to make level 2 communication possible. Some teachers neglect the preliminary steps, others are satisfied with predominantly level 1 communication only, whilst a third group for various reasons rejects or ignores the necessity of level 2 communication. Another group of teachers, though giving their pupils the chance of preliminary level 1 work, attempts to introduce level 2 communication about something which has little bearing on the non-linguistic aspect and content of the level 1 work. This latter fault has even been observed

in bilingual schools where pupils practise a certain language item in relation to a particular situation, whereupon children are 'let loose' on an activity totally divorced from the previous non-linguistic aspect present during the preliminary work. The children will thus never be able to raise themselves to level 2 during the activity because the work done previously was not executed with level 2 communication in mind. Level 2 is an attitude of mind. Activity work done by two classes may appear to be the same, but if one teacher forces the pupils to concentrate mainly on language and the other on aspects of the activity, then the former is level 1 and the latter level 2, and the effects on the second or foreign-language development of the learners are predictable.

It is interesting to note that Burstall[22] in her evaluation of the teaching of French in primary schools touches upon many of these points in quotations such as "One of the surprising aspects of the situation is the number of children, even among the more competent ones, who have no clear idea of the sense of the phrases they are using with apparent understanding" or "The response to standard questions give an appearance of being mechanical, totally devoid of meaning". A pupil is reported as saying, "We can get the answers right, but we don't know what they mean". Another says, "I know the answer, but I don't know what the question means" (p. 176). This indicates quite clearly that these children were treated differently from the way a bilingual child learns a second language as far as meaning acquisition is concerned. They were obviously not offered or allowed to ask for the meaning of words and phrases, perhaps to satisfy general methodological principles laid down by the organisers of the scheme. These children would with the best will in the world never reach level 2, because even their level 1 learning is meaningless.

Not being allowed to refer to their preferred language (though no doubt they furtively do so in their minds in their desperate struggle to cope with the classroom routine) would also prevent any comparative and contrastive work which is part of the bilingual child's second-language development. In another context the present writer has called this 'interpretation' work.[23] In addition this makes true substitution and extension work extremely difficult and time-consuming. It is obvious that lack of practice in this manipulation of language led secondary teachers to comment about their new intakes, ". . . they only reproduced the set phrases they had learned and they experience the same difficulty as other pupils in manipulating the language and in transference" or "We must confess to being a little disappointed at times with the limited powers of new entrants compared with their ability to reproduce memorised patterns and drills." This shows quite clearly that these children had not even learnt how to cope satisfactorily with language at level 1, because the skill of manipulating language is necessary in the mere 'use' of language before the learner can slip over to 'making use of' language for a particular situation or complex of situations.

[22] Burstall, C, and others, *Primary French in the balance*, National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1974.

[23] Dodson, C J, *Language teaching and the bilingual method*, Pitman, 1972.

It would be silly to blame teachers for these shortcomings because they are influenced by the methodological principles laid down so confidently by the theorist. It is clear, however, that these principles of foreign language learning are in the main based on preferred or first-language learning, no matter whether the child acquired this language in a bilingual or a monolingual situation. Nevertheless there are signs of change not only in this country but also abroad. The fact that Orton[24] now writes in *Modern Languages* that "simple interpreting exercises have not been sufficiently recommended" shows that a shift in opinion is taking place.

Perhaps the time has come to take a closer look at the way a bilingual child in a bilingual situation grapples with the problems of satisfying the immediate needs of coping with his world through his second language. It might well be that some of the frustrations and disappointments felt by teachers and pupils could be minimised in the future.

[24] Orton, E. The use of the mother-tongue in foreign language teaching: a re-assessment, *Modern languages*, September 1975, p. 140.

10

Some conclusions: reports by working parties

The principal aim of the conference was informational: to assemble facts, opinions and experience on which further study and action could be based. Problems are urgent; the issues are real rather than theoretical; responses were pragmatic. For example, some teachers wanted more awareness of the importance of minority languages in schools—especially among English-speaking staff and pupils—and increased respect for them. So even where the languages could not be taught (or given the accolade of examinations), basic facts should be more generally made known—who speaks them in school, in the community, in the nation, and in the world (and how many). Where appropriate, notices, especially the important ones such as school rules, should be exhibited in translation; a genuine interest in the sociolinguistics of school and environment, for good educational reasons, should be fostered.

More specifically, a number of practical questions arising from the main papers published here were discussed in detail by seven working parties made up of conference participants. The suggestions and proposals they produced are the views of the groups concerned, although there is no reason to think that the conference as a whole would have wished to modify them. They are presented below under the original terms of reference of each group.

Group A

Are differences in educational provision required as between 'migrant' and 'immigrant' minorities? (Assuming that 'migrants' intend to return to their homelands and 'immigrants' intend to stay here.)

(a) In what ways are their needs different (in English, in the mother-tongue, otherwise)?

(b) Should mainstream schools provide for these differences?

(c) What should be the role of foreign-based support for migrants?

It is almost impossible for the educational administrator to distinguish between

'migrants' and 'immigrants', since many so-called immigrants originally intended to make their stay here short and most migrants do not know how long they will stay. The only migrants who can easily be identified are 'transfer workers'—e.g. employees of international companies and airlines, members of diplomatic missions, academics and trainees. Even those who remain in Britain on annually renewable work permits do not necessarily have a positive intention to return home. Educating a child who then remains in Britain as if he were a short-stay migrant would cause difficulty; any special education for 'migrants' should be reserved for children of transfer workers only.

It is possible that attempts to draw a distinction between migrants' and immigrants' educational needs could lead to immigrants being excluded from benefits which are specially accorded to migrants—arising, for example, from EEC legislation or directives to member states.

The needs of transfer workers' children are often met by special schools such as those provided by the British Army Education Service (in Germany), boarding schools for the children of Indian civil servants, 'European' schools for the children of EEC officials and a variety of private institutions. These have disadvantages insofar as they can be separatist and expensive. In principle it is desirable in Britain for LEAs to cater for such children, providing not only for their mother-tongue maintenance but also for some link with the curricula of their home countries to facilitate their return. This would require intergovernmental cooperation and help from educational attachés in various foreign embassies.

From time to time special schools (or special classes) might be set up for short-stay migrants when numbers warranted. In such cases foreign teachers could be brought in by bilateral agreement with the foreign government concerned. However, if teaching in the mother-tongue is provided for short-stay migrants it is difficult to refuse similar facilities to all minority language groups which desire them.

Financial assistance from foreign sources should be restricted to supplementary education (linguistic or religious); the host country should assume full responsibility for financing mother-tongue/culture maintenance within the state system.

Group B

Language maintenance for minorities in mainstream schools.

(a) Is such maintenance essential for overall education—bearing in mind the time and effort required of children?

(b) If so, which aspects should have priority?

(c) Is there a case for 'language revival' when the mother-tongue has been neglected in the early stages and can be introduced later?

However desirable language maintenance may be—and for most children it would

clearly be beneficial—there are many practical problems in providing for it. First it must be recognised that a principal need for the children's educational progress and future security is the development of skills in English. Secondly, in Britain at present no economic advantage attaches to many minority languages. Thirdly, all languages are not equally susceptible to maintenance in a similar way. (Many children in fact speak dialects of a standard language and some speak languages which are unsupported by literary resources or even by an established script.) Fourthly, the sheer numbers of different languages involved make it impossible to provide similar facilities for all. Thus, the choice of some languages and the rejection of others would be inevitable in practice if undesirable in principle.[25]

In the very early years (five to eight) it seems that something could be done to maintain and even strengthen the mother-tongue, possibly by the use of teachers' aides or auxiliaries. At the later secondary stages (fourteen on) an option system for those who wish to study their own mother-tongue to a suitable examination level should be possible in many schools. However in between, within the range eight to fourteen, there is unlikely to be adequate teacher provision nor are self-instructional materials at present available. Nevertheless, however problematical planned language teaching may be in most schools, belief in the value of the mother-tongue should be preserved and strengthened. Teachers, through both initial and in-service training, should acquire not merely a respect for and understanding of minority cultures, but insight into at least *some* of the main languages concerned. Parity of esteem for languages and cultures should be encouraged.

'Twilight classes'—additional to the normal curriculum—may often be feasible, provided there are safeguards against overloading the school day for young pupils. But where these cater for children of school age, teachers must be found, and here local communities may be able to provide assistance. In appropriate cases, help to voluntary bodies already providing mother-tongue teaching could be given. All these proposals require some financial provision, which might be re-directed from other activities.

Group C

Minority languages as a foreign language provision.

(a) Is it desirable that languages such as Punjabi, Urdu or Modern Greek should be available for all pupils?

(b) If so at what stage, and how can they be introduced?

(c) How would 'extra' foreign languages in secondary schools affect the present provision for Italian, Spanish, Russian etc?

(d) Is there a case for providing certain 'union' languages as foreign languages for minority children?

[25] Most multilingual countries have had to face this problem. *(Ed.)*

In principle, minority languages should be made available as foreign language options. There are obvious factors—the linguistic structure of the school population, that of the surrounding community, the availability of staff—which condition the choice of languages. Nor is it clear how far some languages would attract English-speaking learners, however desirable this may be.

If such languages are to acquire status equal to that given to conventional modern languages in schools, they should be offered at a similar stage in the secondary curriculum, although different achievement targets might be necessary.

Some immigrant communities may favour the teaching of 'union languages' (having a national rather than a religious or regional basis)—e.g. Urdu for Pakistanis, Hindi for Indians—as foreign languages. For some pupils these would be more foreign than for others; they would require different pacing and variable teaching materials. Possibilities should be explored through consultation with communities in particular areas, since it would certainly help to simplify curriculum planning by reducing the number of languages to be offered.

Group D

Information requirements for educational planning and development.

(a) Can adequate statistical bases be found to determine the numbers in linguistic minorities?

(b) Can reliable means be suggested to determine the wishes/needs of minorities in relation to languages in education?

(c) Should information be assembled nationally or locally?

(d) What is the role of the LEA?

For future planning it is most important that the numbers of children in linguistic minorities should be estimated as accurately as possible. It is recognised that even over short periods it is very difficult to make reliable projections, while effective means of assembling data about the existing population are far from simple to divise and operate.

However, some methods at present employed in industry to obtain information about the ethnic/linguistic background of employees might be adapted for use through schools. It is recognised that the purposes of collecting such information could easily be misunderstood and this might cause suspicion; it should therefore be made very clear that information is required specifically for educational purposes. Although data should also be sought from various community organisations, it is felt that this might not always be reliable. The possibility of using the 1981 census to obtain specific linguistic information should be considered.

Information about the use of minority languages at different age levels, for learning, in family life, at work and recreation, both within communities and in contacts with society at large, is needed to clarify the aims and content of any

programmes of mother-tongue teaching. This could be assembled by reference to: members of minorities (of different age-groups) who have passed through the school system; wishes of the pupils at present in schools; views of local authority officers (including heads of schools, social and health workers and community development officers) with the assistance of local Community Relations Councils and the Community Relations Commission.

Given these requirements, which appear essential if LEAs are to plan curricula with full regard to the language needs of minority groups, there is urgent need for a sociolinguistic survey within the United Kingdom of the languages spoken there and the domains of their use. Such a survey should preferably be sponsored by a national organisation concerned with the whole curriculum, so as to emphasise its wider educational purpose.

Group E

Teaching English in relation to mother-tongues.

(a) How far are 'bilingual methods' of teaching English desirable or feasible?

(b) What should English teachers know about their pupils' mother-tongues?

(c) Would bilingual teaching (i.e. the use of the mother-tongues as well as English as a medium in various combinations) prejudice or improve education for the individual child?

Bilingual methods of teaching English (i.e. those involving the use of the children's mother-tongue) may not always be possible, although it is recognised they have not only technical but considerable psychological advantages for younger children in particular. Where a multiplicity of mother-tongues are present in one school it may not be possible to organise children into suitably sized groups having the same mother-tongue. Where this can be done it may be necessary to train teachers or teachers' aides from each linguistic group who can then work in classrooms with English-speaking teachers, possibly moving from class to class or from school to school as required. Sometimes parents might be enlisted for such work. The use of some multi-lingual teachers (whose services could be shared by schools) should be investigated.

English teachers would certainly find *any* knowledge of children's mother-tongues an advantage, not only for such purposes as teaching pronunciation and the structure of English, but also because it would improve the status of minority languages in schools and provide for closer interaction, understanding and sympathy between pupils and teachers.

The use of minority languages as media of instruction presents many problems which should be sympathetically explored. It seems certain that many children are capable of much higher attainments if they can use their own language than many teachers realise. If English only is used, some children may never have the opportunity of working at full stretch in any content subject. Some teaching through the medium of their own language would provide valuable opportunities to develop self-confidence in their own ability.

Group F

Interrelationship between mother-tongue and mainstream schools.

(a) What information about existing mother-tongue schools is required by mainstream teachers?

(b) What effect do mother-tongue schools have on pupils' progress in mainstream schools?

(c) Are there any proposals for coordination?

At present teachers in mainstream schools often have little information about existing mother-tongue schools in their area. Systematic methods of collecting and maintaining information about these, nationally and locally, are desirable. However, many individual schools could at present discover much more through existing contacts with parents and communities, and this they should be encouraged to do.

While some association between mother-tongue schools and mainstream schools would certainly be beneficial culturally and socially, it is felt that administrative contacts need to be cautious. There are possible areas of conflict in methodology and objectives; local discussions between parents and teachers would, however, help to solve such problems. Pupils would certainly gain from seeing that their own language and culture was recognised by mainstream schools, even if not specifically taught in them. The experiences of some of the older established communities (e.g. Polish or Ukrainian) might be helpful in providing guidance for the future.

Group G

Examinations, syllabuses and assessment.

(a) Are agreed examination syllabuses at school level for minority languages required?

(b) Who should design syllabuses and teaching materials?

Examinations are desirable for those who wish to take them because they are visibly an important aspect of life in Britain. They would accord prestige and recognition to minority languages as well as exercise some beneficial control over teaching syllabuses. They would provide an accepted warrant of the status of these languages in general education.

A survey of needs for examinations in minority languages is required, based on information about the numbers in the various communities and their own wishes and demands, which at present may not be clearly articulated. Such a survey, which could be jointly organised by Examining Boards, should also seek to discover what recognition would be likely for such examinations by employers and academic institutions.

However, examinations for speakers of minority languages must be fully comparable with other native language examinations, notably those in English. They should not have the status of an easy option. CSE rather than 'O' level English syllabuses would provide a model, with suitable variations according to linguistic and cultural differences. They should be offered to those who prepare for them in either school or out-of-school programmes, according to local conditions. LEAs should encourage community programmes by making available premises, equipment and training facilities for their teachers.

Note

Responsibility for establishing new school examinations lies with the Examining Boards and the Schools Council, which has overall responsibility for the curriculum and examinations. Any interested community may ask for an examination in any of the minority languages (as mother-tongues), supporting the application with proposed syllabuses and specimen papers. Following this a four-way discussion between the Schools Council, Examining Board, interested LEAs and the community concerned would be beneficial. To support such an application, information gathered in the survey proposed above would be needed. It is most desirable that some of the materials for the teaching and learning of minority languages should be designed for self-instruction.

Appendix 1: Bilingualism, multilingualism and bilingual education: current research in Britain

This list of research in progress and recently completed in Britain is extracted from the register compiled by CILT. *Language and language teaching: current research in Britain 1972-75* (Longman, to be published 1976) will provide fuller descriptions of these and other projects (those marked * have already appeared in the 1971-72 edn, published 1973); project entries can be traced in the book by their serial numbers.

As the register contains only information specially provided for it by researchers, this is not necessarily a comprehensive list of work in progress on bilingualism, multilingualism and bilingual education.

*692** Professor R B Le Page, Department of Language, University of York (and 3 associates): *Sociolinguistic survey of multilingual communities: stage II, Creole-French-speaking children in St Lucia, West Indies.* (Work comparable to stage I, Cayo District, British Honduras: *see* 1971-72 edn; *see also Language in Society*, vol 1 no. 1, 1972, p. 155-72 and vol 3 no. 1, 1974, p.1-32). Preparation of a book, *Acts of identity* (Le Page and A Tabouret-Keller) and theses (by other associates). Begun 1969. Some results in published papers: details obtainable from CILT.

*951** Professor B Pattison, University of London Institute of Education (and associates): *An investigation of the English necessary for the integration of immigrant pupils into ordinary classes in mathematics in the first year of a secondary school in the United Kingdom.* Begun 1967.

*1073** Dr Pauline F Hoggarth, Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, Department of Spanish, University of St Andrews: *Quechua-Spanish bilingualism (linguistic and social aspects) in the Department of Cuzco, southern Peru.* Completed 1974.

Bilingualism in Calca, Department of Cuzco, southern Peru. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1974.

*1163** Dr N Denison, Vogelweiderstrasse 48, 8010 Graz, Austria: *Sauris: a sociolinguistic case study of a trilingual community.* Begun 1964.

Sauris: a trilingual community in diatypic perspective. *Man*, vol 3 no. 4, 1968, p. 578-92.

Sociolinguistics and plurilingualism. *Actes du X^e Congrès International des Linguistes* (Bucharest, Aug-Sept 1967). Editions de

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*1190** J L Kettle-Williams, School of Modern Languages, Portsmouth Polytechnic (and supervisor): *The interrelationship of Guaraní and Spanish in south-east rural Paraguay.* Aims to determine the extent to which Spanish and Guaraní co-exist and the extent to which Guaraní has affected linguistically the Spanish of Paraguay. Monolingual and bilingual informants. For degree of PhD, Council for National Academic Awards. Begun 1970

*1292** G E Richards*, National Language Unit (Wales) (and 6 associates): *Bilingual education project.* A pilot study of bilingual education in primary schools in the anglicised areas of Wales, set up to enable the initially monoglot English-speaking child to achieve by the end of the primary stage of education a standard of attainment in Welsh comparable to that attained at the same age in English by the initially monoglot Welsh-speaking child. Teachers' handbooks and trial materials (in Welsh) are being published. For fuller description of the project *see* Schools Council *Project profiles and index.* Begun 1968.

*E Evans is director of the 'aftercare' phase of the project (from April 1975).

*1410** P A Howard, Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St Andrews: *Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism in Paraguay.* For degree of PhD. Begun 1971.

1514 Dr G J Harrison, Department of Psychology, University College, Cardiff *and* Dr C H Thomas, Welsh Language Research Unit (and 1 associate): *The acquisition of bilingual speech by infants.* Begun 1972.

1546 J J Bossano, English Language Research Centre, University of Birmingham: *Bilingualism in primary school reception classes in Gibraltar: a sociolinguistic study.* For degree of MA. Begun 1972.

1548 D W H Sharp, Department of Education, University College of Swansea (and 2 associates): *The teaching and learning of English in Wales, 8-13.* Survey of present practice, development and trial of classroom materials, production of handbooks and source books for teachers. For fuller description of the project *see* Schools Council *Project profiles and index.* Begun 1973.

Report on earlier work published as: *Attitudes to Welsh and English in the schools of Wales,* by D Sharp and others. Macmillan, 1973. (Schools Council Research Studies Series.)

1628 D L James, Faculty of Education, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth: *Preparation of a volume on bilingualism in education in Wales.* Begun Sept 1973.

1632 Miss D Pestowski, Department of Psychology, University College, Cardiff (and supervisor): *A study of infants acquiring more than one language.* For degree of PhD. Begun Oct 1973.

1745 J W Bellin, Department of Psychology, University of Reading (and 1 associate): *Later development of syntax in bilingual and monoglot children.* Results will be incorporated in articles in Greek and English. Begun 1974 (following earlier work).

1814 M Chaloupka, Department of Phonetics & Linguistics, University College London: *Some aspects of the acquisition of English by Czech speakers.* (Some aspects of the acquisition of a second language in adulthood will be considered, in particular the question of whether adult learners/ bilinguals consciously or subconsciously translate stimulus and intended response into native language.) For degree of MPhil or PhD. Begun 1972.

1853 R T Bell *and* C N Candlin, Linguistics Section, Department of English, University of Lancaster: *Polish-English bilinguals: language usage and language attitude.* An investigation of Polish and English usage and attitudes to Polish and English among adult and teenage Poles who either have settled or were born in Britain. Preliminary reports and working papers are available from the investigators. Begun 1973.

1858 C J Dodson, Department of Education, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (and 3 associates): *Bilingual education in Welsh secondary schools.* The aim is to satisfy the linguistic and educational needs of children with above-average proficiency in Welsh (second language). Trial resource and language materials are being produced; for fuller description of the project *see* Schools Council *Project profiles and index.* Begun 1974.

1859 C J Dodson, Department of Education, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (and 3 associates): *Concept and language development of nursery and infant school children (aged 3-7).* The aim is to identify and measure the main factors determining concept and language development of monoglot English, monoglot Welsh and bilingual Welsh/ English speakers who, for diverse reasons, find themselves in English-medium, Welsh-medium or mixed-language-medium school environments. Results to be published. Begun 1974.

Appendix 2: Select bibliography

Section A: bibliographies and reference sources

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Appendix 3: List of conference participants

LEA representatives are identified by the name of their authority which is given in italics.

Dr M M Ahsan, Islamic Foundation, *Leicestershire*
R Hatcher, Language Centre, *Walsall*
J R Andrews, Head of Steward Reception Centre, *Birmingham*
M/s Mia Armer, Language Centre, *Walsall*
A P Arnold, Head, Ellis Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
R Barnes, Head, East Park Primary School, *Leicestershire*
W K Baxendale, General Inspector, *Walsall*
Mrs Eunice B Beaumont, Advisory Teacher for Language Development with Asians, *Bradford*
Miss V M Branston, Head, Evington Valley Infants School, *Leicestershire*
T Burgin, Senior Adviser, *Kirklees*
C R Burrows, Head, Rushey Mead Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
E G Burrows, General Adviser, Multi Racial Education, *Bedfordshire*
Mrs Kiran Campbell-Platt, The Runnymede Trust
R D Chapman, Organising Inspector for the Teaching of English as a Second Language, *Birmingham*
J Cowley, Judgemeadow Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
N S Curtis, Head, Soar Valley Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
Miss Patricia Daniel, Alumwell Comprehensive School, *Walsall*
Mrs M Darby, Adviser for Multi-Racial Education, *Wolverhampton*
A J Davis, Deputy Director of Education, *Leicestershire*
Mrs Doreen Davis, Evington Valley Infants School, *Leicestershire*
C J Dodson, The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth
Mrs V Dunbar, Limehurst Girls High School, *Leicestershire*
Miss Sheila M Dunman, Hillfields Community Education Centre, *Coventry*
E Evans, National Language Unit (Glamorgan), Glamorgan
M R Feeley, Chairman, National Association for Multi-Racial Education
Mrs Margery Fishenden, Moat Girls School, *Leicestershire*
N Fitchett, Primary Language Centre, *Derbyshire*
Miss C A Fulloway, Head, Green Lane Infant School, *Leicestershire*
I Galletley, Rawlings Upper School, *Leicestershire*
Mrs June Geach, CILT
W Grauberg, Director, Language Centre, University of Nottingham
Mrs P I Griffith, Head, Limehurst Girls High School, *Leicestershire*
Mrs Delia Hemmings, Lansdowne House Teachers Centre, *Leicestershire*
C A Hodgkinson, Secondary Language Centre, *Derbyshire*
Mrs L A Hodkinson, Rose Hill Infants School, *Derbyshire*
D Houlton, Mayflower Junior School, *Leicestershire*
Mrs M E Hughes, Head, James Watt Infant School, *Birmingham*
J R Hutton, Foxford School, *Coventry*

Mrs P M Iliffe, Head, Uplands Infants School, *Leicestershire*
Miss Marion M Irons, Derby School, *Derbyshire*
S G Irving, Adviser ESL and Junior, *Nottingham*
A G James, Bishop Lonsdale College, *Derbyshire*
C V James, CILT
D A Jones, Crown Hill Language Annexe, *Leicestershire*
Dr F Jones, Senior Adviser, A/V Aids, *Derbyshire*
Dr Verity Khan, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations (SSRC)
Mrs M Landor, Littleover School, *Derbyshire*
Miss C Leach, Soar Valley Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
J R Lemagnen, Bishop Lonsdale College, *Derbyshire*
Mrs J M Levine, Joseph Leckie Comprehensive School, *Walsall*
Mrs M E Lodge, St Chad's Infant School, *Derbyshire*
Miss Helen N Lunt, CILT
Mrs M Mellors, Deputy Head, Uplands Infants School, *Leicestershire*
M McLeod, HMI, Scottish Education Department
Mrs B Manners, Head, Ridge Junior School, *Leicestershire*
G M Matthews, CILT
Mrs M Mienczakowski, Edgewick Junior and Infant School, *Coventry*
G R Morgan, Head, Penweddig School, Aberystwyth
Dr G D Morley, CILT
J F Moore, Head, Meadway Junior School, *Leicestershire*
Mrs B Mountford, Head of In-service Training (Multi-Racial Education), *Wolverhampton*
J H Mundy, HMI, Department of Education and Science
Mrs Barbara Newson, CILT
Fr Colmán L Ó Huallacháin, The New University of Ulster
T M Ottevanger, Community Relations Commission
Dr R Pal, Directorate of Educational Services (Immigrant Education), *Bradford*
Mrs P D Pearson, Medway Infants School, *Leicestershire*
G Penny, Head, Moat Boys Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
R Pennington, Head, Crown Hill Secondary School, *Leicestershire*
R A Penfold, Head, Mayflower Junior School, *Leicestershire*
G E Perren, Director, CILT
Mrs Elizabeth Porter, Bemrose School, *Derbyshire*
Professor G Price, The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth
Miss Jean Price, CILT
Mrs D Prince, Nightingale Infants School, *Derbyshire*
E C Reid, West Midlands College of Education, *Walsall*
B A Rigden, Education Adviser, *Coventry*
C D Roberts, HMI, Director, Centre for Advice on Educational Disadvantage
Mrs E M Roberts, The Language Centre, *Birmingham*
Mrs M Roberts, CILT (Conference Secretary)
Kartar Singh Sandhu, Sikh Education Committee, *Leicestershire*
A B Sawford, Pear Tree Junior School, *Derbyshire*
A T Saxelby, St James' C E Junior School, *Derbyshire*
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